

A STUDY OF POOR RELIEF ADMINISTRATION IN
EDINBURGH CITY PARISH, BETWEEN 1845 - 1894.

by

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ABSTRACT

The Poor Law Amendment (Scotland) Act of 1845 was the first attempt to provide regular local relief to the entitled poor. It contained regulations for the administrative framework through which relief could be distributed at local level by a Parochial Board, whilst a Board of Supervision acted as a central advisory body. A similar two tier system in England, created by previous legislation had encountered difficulties in implementing Statutory relief provisions, so a close examination of how one parish operated between 1845-1894 was undertaken, to discover if the Scottish Act was difficult to implement.

The City parish of Edinburgh was chosen, one of the three existing in the burgh during the period, and it was soon apparent that the resources available were exceptional. Implementation of the Act in this one parish was by no means typical for other parts of Scotland. Apart from financial, managerial and staff resources, the City Parochial Board was composed of a majority of elected members, which was an unusual feature in poor law administration. The electorate, therefore, were an important part of the Parochial Board resources.

Section I of the text deals with the collection of resources, a procedure which was managed with increasing efficiency and the redistribution of income as relief provisions is dealt with in Section II.

Both outdoor relief and poorhouse accommodation were available in the burgh parish, but initially, the Parochial Board did not possess the administrative organisation to offer remedial or supervised assistance to paupers. Consequently, unconditional or unsupervised help was the main form of assistance provided.

From the mid 1850's however, the Parochial Board gradually developed an organised administrative unit, and were able to change their policy, giving increased emphasis to the provision of remedial relief. By 1870, unconditional relief was no longer available to the entitled poor, all of whom were given supervision and advice as well as material assistance. During this development, two factors emerged. First, the maintenance of organisational efficiency became a prior consideration for the Parochial Board and relief provisions were standardised. Applicants were classified into categories, each section being accorded different standards of care and paupers were treated as groups rather than as individuals.

Secondly, supervised relief was found to be effective in controlling the problem of pauperism, which had caused concern before 1845. Applicants for relief who were willing to conform to the regulations imposed on them by the Parochial Board, received more than adequate care, but not all were willing to be classified or rehabilitated. Some tried to evade the rules, but were punished in various ways, for the Parochial Board could not allow them to disrupt the administrative organisation. Others refused to conform to the system and tried to manage without parish relief, thereby reducing the numbers of registered paupers. The incidence of pauperism in the parish seemed to be reduced but the problem of poverty remained.

The City Parochial Board illustrated that, given the resources,

the 1845 Act could be implemented and could be used to provide a regular system of adequate relief. Remedial relief was not necessarily acceptable to all the entitled poor however, and lack of flexibility in administrative organisation sometimes prevented paupers from claiming the benefits to which they were entitled.



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Preface and acknowledgements.

The 1845 Act for the amendment and better administration of the laws relating to the relief of the poor in Scotland was implemented by each parish authority according to its resources, and its ability to convert these into relief programmes for the entitled poor. The administrative organisation which developed in the City parish of Edinburgh, between 1845 and 1894 is the subject of the following text, but it was by no means typical for the rest of Scotland during the same period. As the central portion of Edinburgh, the City parish had many unique features, and where the area has been referred to in the text, a capital letter has been used to differentiate it from the city itself.

Edinburgh is the repository for many national records, and I am indebted to the staff of the National Library, the Edinburgh room of the Public Library, and the Historical Research room in the Scottish Record Office, all of whom assisted my search for material. The Social Service department at Castle Terrace gave me permission to investigate any records at Greenlea Old People's Home, and I am grateful to Mr. R. Shipman, the Superintendent and his depute, for their invaluable assistance. Interviews with Mr. J. Reid and Mr. D. Russell, both of whom had intimate knowledge of the social service procedure before 1945, proved most rewarding, and I am grateful to Mr. Russell for permission to reproduce his Diploma, issued by the Society of Inspectors of poor in 1936.

The material discovered is by no means complete, but the most persistent efforts have failed to produce any more records. All the minutes of the Board of Supervision meetings were in manuscript and complete, but I have been unable to trace any records for the

Board of Lunacy, or the Local Government Board which became the central authority for poor relief in 1894. The manuscript minutes for the City Parochial Board are also incomplete, and I have failed to discover either the numerous registers kept by the staff or any additional accounts and papers. All the local documents which have been used, are lodged in the City archives, and I am very grateful to Mr. W. Makey, the archivist, who gave unfailing assistance, both in producing any relevant material, and in discussing innumerable problems. Despite the pressure of his own work and the lack of office space, he was most willing to assist in every way, and although my regular appearance at his office must often have been inconvenient, I was always received with patience and courtesy.

Some of the material which was available had been damaged, so any reproductions posed a problem, but this was ably dealt with by Scott Ballantyne, to whom I am grateful. Mr. Nimmo and his staff in the Social Science Research unit gave valuable assistance and technical advice to enable me to examine and tabulate the poor list for 1852, and I should like to thank them all for their help.

Many other people have helped me in my effort, and they all deserve my thanks, but in particular I should like to thank; Mr. S. Maxwell for his help with the draft; Professor A. Bradley for his legal advice; A. Rowe, H. Wirtz and E. Craig of the Social Administration department for their academic advice and moral support, and the staff of the Economic History department who have sustained me during the past three years. I should like especially to thank Professor M. Flinn, who directed my attention to the Scottish poor law and without whose help, this thesis would never have been started.

The faults in the text are my responsibility, but are fewer than they would have been without the assistance of Professor T.C. Smout and Mrs. R. Mitchison. I thank them both for their advice and supervision, and appreciate the time each of them has spent reading, and re-reading any material I produced.

The text has been ably typed by Helen Jardine and I am very grateful to her for all the help she has given me, and lastly, I should like to thank my long suffering family, for without their co-operation, this thesis would not have been presented.



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Abbreviations.

B.S.M.	Board of Supervision minutes.
B.S.A.R.	Board of Supervision annual report.
C.S.	Court of Sessions.
H.C.	House of Commons.
H.L.	House of Lords.
P.B.M.	City of Edinburgh Parochial Board minutes.
P.L.M.	Poor Law Magazine.
P.P.	Parliamentary Paper.
R.C.	Royal Commission.
S.C.	Select Committee.

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Introduction

"Administration is the management of human organisations",¹ an activity during which the administration itself becomes organised. It begins as a means to an end, a channel through which resources are converted into goods and services, but during the process there is often a change of purpose. In an effort to be efficient and effective, the procedure becomes more organised, with rules for action, and the means through which conversion takes place may become ends in themselves. The original purpose for which the administration was created takes secondary place to the desire to have an efficiently organised unit.

The change of purpose may not be a disadvantage but when the administration belongs to the social service group, this development has adverse effects for the recipient, who after all, is the reason why the administration was originally created. Clients are no longer treated as individuals for whom rules can be adapted, but must fit into the procedure to avoid disrupting the organisation. The change of purpose therefore, is for administrative convenience, not made primarily for the benefit of the client, although the usual reasons given for the change often indicate administrative belief that alterations are solely for the benefit of the recipient. The service provided is no longer the most applicable help for each applicant's requirements, but is the provision of help determined by rules of procedure and conformity to the regulations is expected from both employee and client.

1. D.V. Donnison and V. Chapman, Social Policy and Administration, (London, 1965), p.13.

Individual assessment may still be made, but the procedure has become a method of grouping types of applicants together with standardised benefits provided for each category. Applicants may not wish to ask for this kind of help and the provisions fail to reach all those in need or all entitled beneficiaries. The administration selects and discriminates, working to organisational rules, which are no longer flexible to accommodate the diverse requirements of each applicant. The organisation may well be regarded as successful, if measured by standards of administrative efficiency, but because some people in need no longer use the service, it has failed to achieve its original purpose.

This thesis is an attempt to see if this theory is correct regarding poor relief administration in the City parish of Edinburgh between 1845 and 1894. The administration was examined to see if it fulfilled its original purpose, or if it became so over organised that many of the entitled poor chose to ignore the Statutory provisions rather than accept standardised help. These dates were chosen because 1845 heralded a new form of administration² which remained unchanged until 1894³, when both central and local tiers were renamed and slightly altered, although the basic relief provisions remained. There was no radical change in poor relief administration in Scotland from then until 1929,⁴ when local government assumed its present form, which is now undergoing change. Ad hoc bodies amalgamated with urban and rural district authorities in 1929, to co-ordinate the various aspects

2. 8 and 9. Vic.c.83.

3. 57 and 58. Vic.c.58.

4. 19 and 20. Geo.V.c.25.

of social welfare, and poor relief became the responsibility of the Town Council in Edinburgh. The poor law, however, remained operational until the mid 1940's, when a spate of social legislation finally repealed the system created a hundred years previously and the social service pattern with which we are now familiar, emerged. Many of the principles incorporated policies previously employed in the nineteenth century, so the 1845 Act can be said to have been the first Statutory development towards what is now known as the welfare state.

The Poor Law Amendment Act for Scotland, passed on August 4th 1845, was the direct result of the Royal Commission of 1843-44;⁵ the Commissioners had been required to inquire into existing provisions for relief in Scotland and suggest any improvements. The brief implied that defects would be found and the report duly followed the government guidelines. It criticised what was thought to be the prevailing system of relief, administered by kirk sessions, heritors and magistrates in urban areas and concluded that although arrangements differed throughout Scotland, in general the existing laws were not properly implemented, so as to provide a regular, adequate allowance for the poor. The basic fault was that insufficient money was collected to provide adequate relief, and even when funds were available, there was no organised system through which they could be properly distributed.

The report suggested three improvements; a clear entitlement to relief, a more extensive use of the power to levy poor rates, and the creation of a two tier system of administration, to organise the

5. R.C.Poor Law. P.P.vol.XX. 1843-44.

relief of poverty.

e. The suggestions were intended to achieve two aims; the improvement of relief provisions in each parish, and the control of pauperism and vagrancy, two social problems which had increased to alarming proportions. The presence of both paupers and vagrants in society was not new and previous legislation had largely been directed at helping the pauper, but repressing the vagrant, though both were classed as part of the large homogeneous section of society, known collectively as "the poor".

Persons with inadequate means to supply their needs were regarded as poor, (a definition largely based on an economic criterion) who could be helped by occasional charity and by self help. A pauper was a poor person who, being destitute and wholly or partially disabled, could be given help from the poor fund, the church, charitable societies or private alms. The distinction between "poor" and "pauper" was the degree of poverty and earning ability, the former being required to manage without help; but the pauper was acknowledged as entitled to relief, and was not necessarily regarded as a disreputable figure in society. He was part of the community for whom some responsibility was felt, because his poverty was such that he could not support himself or his family, entirely unaided. x

The principles upon which relief was given in Scotland were established by the 1579 Act,⁶ and society in general accepted that it was part of their Christian duty to provide help to paupers. If official aid was required, however, paupers tended to remain near their parish of settlement, that is, the place in which they had been born, or in which they had acquired the right to belong, because in

6. Acts of Parliament of Scotland, 1579.c.74.

theory each parish was responsible only for its own poor. Paupers were given help from the poor fund, usually collected by the church or heritors on a voluntary basis, or were given licences to beg within their own parish.

Paupers were accepted as the necessitous poor, but vagrants were a very different matter. They were the "strong idle beggars" against whom the earlier laws⁷ were directed, a menace to society who should be branded and punished. They were presumed fit to earn their living, but had chosen wandering ways of life instead, supporting themselves by unauthorised begging, threats or criminal activities. Singly or in groups vagrants posed a threat to settled communities, which was not easily controlled or removed in the absence of an organised police force.

If a properly organised system of relief could be established, giving official help to genuine paupers within their own parish, then vagrants could be easily recognised and punished. A Statutory relief system would enable the administration to differentiate between paupers and vagrants, between those genuinely in need and impostors and if efficiently operated would exert a certain amount of control. Claimants for relief would be investigated and impostors refused assistance, but the whole procedure would be facilitated if the administration remained parochial. The entitled poor, sure of relief from their own parish authorities, would remain in their own area, thereby reducing the numbers of wandering poor, and the parish authority would know more about each claimant thereby assisting detection of

7. Acts of Parliament of Scotland, 1579.c.74; 1597.c.27;
1661.c.38; 1672.c.18.

improper claims. Even in urban areas this could be achieved, despite the increasing population, if parish boundaries remained static, although the 1844 report acknowledged that some parishes might wish to combine for poor law purposes. The report also suggested various ways by which the entitled poor could be helped and those affected by temporary adversity be given occasional help until they were once again capable of self support. Social control of both pauper and vagrant was thought to be the logical outcome of a properly organised relief system.

The Royal Commissioners did not inquire into the causes of poverty. For one thing it was not part of their brief and secondly, the problem of poverty, its causes and definition was a very complicated one. It was little understood in 1844 and would have taken more time to investigate than the government was willing to allow. The immediate problems were the inadequate relief provisions and the increased number of paupers and vagrants but with few means of controlling subversive elements in society, the government had to use other ways of dealing with the problem. Fears of insurrection were very real in 1844, as the increased unrest in Europe revived memories of the French Revolution at the end of the previous century. If measures could be introduced to settle the pressing problems of who should take care of the poor and how this assistance should be afforded, then social unrest might diminish.

There were various schools of thought about pauperism, poverty and the question of responsibility for the poor. Dr. Thomas Chalmers,⁸

8. T. Ferguson, The Dawn of Scottish Social Welfare, (London, 1948), p.189.

the well known minister, wanted relief to remain the responsibility of the church, with no regular rating system. He thought that to give regular relief would demoralise the poor, reduce their independence and ultimately increase pauperism. He also believed that re-education of the poor would improve their habits and foster their spirit of independence, thereby reducing the need for, or inclination to apply for, relief. Much was written both before and after 1844 about the "spirit of independence" being a Scottish characteristic, but the phrase seemed often to mean "evidence of self maintenance", which was regarded as an admirable trait of the labouring class by the rest of society. Ideas about "self help" propagated by Benthamites and later crystalised in a book by Samuel Smiles,⁹ could be traced in relief provisions and administrative policy after 1845, although the original sources of these ideas were rarely acknowledged. Chalmers put great stress on the education of the poor as a means of fostering self help, and he argued that regular rates both degraded the poor and resulted in loss of independent action.

Chalmers gained much support for his ideas, particularly when he put them into practice in the new parish of St. Johns in Glasgow in 1819, where a system of supervised relief was organised, with volunteers who both collected and distributed the poor fund. Claimants were thoroughly investigated as to their means and circumstances before any help was given, in an effort to prevent impostors obtaining help. It was a rudimentary form of casework, later developed by the Charity Organisation Society and which was to be increasingly used

9. S. Smiles, Self Help. (London, 1850).

in Edinburgh City parish after 1870. It is still used in social work departments today, although it has undergone considerable development.

Chalmers was only partially successful with his scheme but he had many followers who opposed any extension of the rating system. They were not quite as influential, however, after Chalmers became involved in the Disruption issue¹⁰ and their importance further decreased after he died in 1847. The original ideas remained and, as will be shown, supervised relief became an established policy of the City parish authority.

Another approach to the problem of poverty came from Dr. W.P. Alison,¹¹ professor of medicine in Edinburgh, who opposed Chalmers' ideas as being totally inadequate for a rapidly developing society. Alison thought church care of the poor and a voluntary contribution system unsuitable in a changing industrial economy with an increasing population. The only practical way to deal with the problem was to improve the health and welfare of the poor by means of a properly organised system of relief. Alison published pamphlets on the subject to which Chalmers replied attacking the Doctor's scheme and declaring that a regular poor rate was wasteful, ineffective and no answer to the problem of pauperism. The arguments which developed between these two charismatic personalities helped neither the issue nor the poor, but did confuse the public about the causes and remedy for pauperism.

10. H. Watt, Thomas Chalmers and the Disruption, (Edinburgh, 1943).

11. W.P. Alison, Observations on the Management of the Poor in Scotland, (Edinburgh, 1840).

In general it was thought that there were two kinds of paupers; the young, the sick, or those suffering from the disabilities of old age, who were impoverished because of their inability to provide for themselves, and those who were destitute because of improvident habits. The ignorance and defects of character of the latter prevented them from adjusting needs to means. How far this viewpoint could be applied to all destitute persons depended upon various associated ideas. Destitution from old age could be regarded as improvidence since the paupers had failed to provide for an inevitable event, while pauper children could be regarded as the results of parental failure to cater for the families they had produced. Malthusian ideas and fears of over-population could be used as arguments against giving regular relief, while fears of the spread of disease from what Chadwick called the "miasma" from congested urban areas could be used to support the argument that adequate help would reduce the squalor in which paupers' lived. The health of the poor would therefore improve, and the risk of infection spreading to other parts of the town, would diminish.

The arguments raged to and fro, but the 1844 report offered a possible solution. It acknowledged that some people could not support themselves in the nineteenth century without some help, which they certainly did not get under existing arrangements. The faulty provisions were understandable, because they were combinations of sixteenth and seventeenth century laws and principles,¹² quite unable to withstand the strain placed upon them by nineteenth century developments.

12. R. Mitchison, 'Old Scottish Poor Law', unpublished.

By 1844, Scotland was experiencing social and economic change, as commerce and industry developed along similar lines to those already experienced in England. Both agricultural and industrial economies altered, sustained by an increase in population, and the traditional patterns of Scottish society began to disintegrate, gradually being replaced by an industrial society. The impact of the trade cycle which particularly affected the lives of the labouring class, reduced security of employment and increasingly, the potential poor were reduced to destitution. Poverty was largely an economic issue in the nineteenth century and the rural-urban drift was accelerated as agricultural labourers sought to improve their circumstances in the towns. Too great a strain was placed on relief provisions both in town and country, as these were geared to a predominantly agricultural society with small scale industries, all operating at a slower pace. Urban areas grew rapidly, becoming difficult to ~~unmanageable~~ and local government comprising as it did ad hoc bodies, could not deal effectively with the problem.

Parishes which relied on voluntary contributions found their resources quite inadequate to meet the rising demand, and where assessment was imposed, the system was ineffective because administrators failed to appreciate the fluctuating demand. Rates were imposed unequally on inhabitants, with many traditional exemptions, chiefly for those most able to pay, and rates were rarely imposed with any regularity. In fact, the rating system was no system at all, but a periodic assessment on the less affluent in an attempt to assist the destitute.

One of the common methods of rating was that based on means and substance, a kind of local income tax, which was resented and avoided

if at all possible. The clergy rarely supported a rating system, even though usually exempt themselves, partly because it was thought to be detrimental to the pauper and to discourage him from supporting himself. Part of their opposition, however, arose because rates, particularly if imposed on means and substance, decreased the amount of money collected at the church door, money which was divided between the poor and the maintenance of the church. Chalmers' ideas that rates would undermine the Christian duty of cheerful giving, as well as injure both recipient and donor, gained much support, not only amongst clergy, but also amongst heritors who had depleted funds with which to repair church premises. Despite the growing necessity to impose rates in some parishes, few were prepared to accept regular rating as a solution to the problem.

Whatever method of finance was used, the results were inadequate to cope with the demand and the whole unstable structure suffered a severe blow in 1843 by the Disruption, from which it could not recover. The fragmentation of church unity divided both the collection and the distribution of poor funds, decreasing the total amount available so that the churches could no longer cope with the problem of the poor. The Royal Commissioners¹³ were of the opinion that this final blow had decreased opposition to assessment and that, if rating could be more widely introduced with new administrative machinery, poor relief could be improved. Chalmers was closely concerned in the Disruption and his followers became more involved in theological issues than the care of the poor and in any case, churches had problems enough without the additional burden of poor relief.

13. R.C. Poor Law. P.P.vol.XX. 1843-44.

Most of the recommendations of the report were incorporated in the 1845 Act, which basically provided the administration through which relief could be distributed. The principles entitling paupers to demand relief were seemingly unaffected, because the Act never defined who were the entitled poor, although it specifically gave them the right to claim relief. A Parochial Board was to be established in every parish and given the responsibility of caring for the poor, while a central authority, known as the Board of Supervision, was created to give advice to local Boards as well as supervise the implementation of the Act. The composition of the central Board was clearly defined in the Act, but membership of local Boards depended upon parish status and the method of raising income, ratepayer representation being compulsory if the Parochial Board levied poor rates.

This two tier system had already been tried in England with the Act of 1834,¹⁴ but there had been strong local opposition to the legislation, particularly in the industrial north. As a result, the Poor Law Commissioners, as the central authority, had been unable to enforce total implementation of the Statute. An organised Anti-Poor Law movement¹⁵ had developed as a result of hostility directed mainly against central control, loss of local identity as parishes were forced to combine into Unions, and the stress laid on workhouse relief. The Scottish Act was not without its critics, but no similar

14. 4 and 5. Will.c.76.

15. N.C. Edsell, Anti-Poor Law Movement, (Manchester, 1971).

M.E. Rose, 'Anti-Poor Law Movement in the North of England', *Northern History*, vol.I. (1966).

organised movement developed after 1845 and by August 1846, all 880 parishes had a properly constituted Parochial Board. The lack of opposition was probably due to the different methods of treating the controversial issues when the Scottish Act was framed.

In the first place, the Board of Supervision did not seem to have the same power as the Poor Law Commission and could not initiate action.^{15a.} Its authority lay in giving advice to local boards, more direct action being possible only if requested, or if defective arrangements were brought to its notice. All the numerous rules, regulations, circulars and minutes issued during the next forty-nine years by the Board of Supervision were the result of someone, somewhere complaining of some aspect of local poor relief administration. The 1845 Act appeared to involve less centralisation than the English system and thus removed a point of resentment.

Secondly, local opposition was further reduced because parishes were not compelled to combine into Unions. In England, the central authority united parishes before the local Board of Guardians could be established, but in Scotland, the Board of Supervision had no such powers. Parishes might combine for poor law purposes if they wished, but only after agreement had been reached at local level was it necessary to seek the Board of Supervision's approval. Few parishes took this action at first, which was providential in a way, because the central authority discovered it had no power to dissolve a combination found to be unworkable. There were drawbacks in retaining parochial units of administration, but these were overshadowed by the major advantage of the scheme. Each parish was responsible for its own poor and could be a viable authority, preserving local traditions and identity, more easily accepted as a local administration. Each Parochial

^{15a.} See pp. 31 and 194, *infra*.

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Board had a duty to implement the Act, which if effectively performed would reduce central intervention. The incentive to operate the new system was obviously present and because administration remained within the customary boundaries, opposition to the Act was reduced.

Finally, there was no attempt to enforce a uniform system of relief throughout Scotland. Those entitled to demand relief appeared to be the destitute and disabled and the law specifically excluded the able bodied out of work from the right to demand relief, thereby retaining a Scottish tradition. The omission may be regarded as an evasion of responsibility in a period when industrial development, inventions and innovations were affecting employment patterns, but it was the inclusion of this very class of poor in the English system which had led to disputes and administrative problems. Labour tests, tests of eligibility to distinguish between the impotent, the work shy and the able bodied unemployed had resulted in increased emphasis being placed on workhouse relief, and conditions within these institutions were very spartan in an effort to deter those not really requiring relief. By excluding the able bodied out of work from the Scottish system, the legislators probably ensured that the Act would be implemented, as opposition to rates on behalf of the unemployed would be reduced and there would be no need to emphasise indoor relief.

Poorhouses were an uncommon feature in Scotland and Parochial Boards were able to resist central pressure to incur capital expenditure for their provision. Institutions which did exist were largely almshouses, with no tradition of providing work for inmates, and to introduce labour tests into these places might well have proved difficult as well as being resented. The 1845 Act did not state

that the able bodied should not be given any help, just that they had no legal right to demand it, and as will be seen, Parochial Boards decided they had discretionary power to deal with the unemployed.

An Act of Parliament is the formal indication of government policy for some aspect of social organisation and legislation makes the general consensus of public opinion part of constitutional law. It is only meaningful when actually put into practice, a procedure which requires an administrative framework and organisation. With practical application the law is interpreted and understood, flaws are revealed, points are decided in court, and subsequent legislation is often the amendment of impractical clauses or the clarification of ambiguous sections. If found unworkable or unacceptable, legislation is usually repealed, but the 1845 Act remained virtually unchanged 1861 for forty-nine years, though some of the clauses were more ambiguous than would be permitted today. Few terms were defined and clauses were open to various interpretations, often requiring court actions to establish a principle of law. It was a complicated Act, difficult to understand for it covered all aspects of relief, both the provisions and administration, as well as attempting social control.

In addition to the Act, there were numerous regulations issued by the Board of Supervision, some of which when given approval by the Secretary of State became Statutory Instruments, which were then obligatory extensions of the original law. All the provisions were intended to promote an improved system of relief and prevent abuse, but the history of previous legislation had shown it was not always easy to get poor laws implemented. An examination of one particular Parochial Board administration during the period, is one way of

discovering if the law could be practically applied, and how it actually operated at local level. The City parish of Edinburgh was chosen for this purpose, but as part of the historic capital, poor relief administration was affected both by past developments and nineteenth century events.

The City parish of Edinburgh¹⁶ was the central portion of the burgh, which from the twelfth century had developed along the rocky ridges and valleys to give a concentrated area. Bounded by the sea to the north and the various hill ranges around its perimeter, Edinburgh was ideally situated as a fortress, and a protecting wall surrounded the town. Within this enclosed space, Edinburgh grew upwards, because to live outside the walls was both vulnerable and complicated by the system of land ownership. Tall tenements, separated by narrow closes forming what were known as "lands", gave Edinburgh a unique skyline, and "Auld Reekie" was well named. The congested centre, later known as the old town or Ancient Royalty, became an increasing problem, with which the poor law administration had later to cope, but was not a slum area in the seventeenth century. Tenements then housed a cosmopolitan society where lawyers and labourers shared the same common stair and lived in similar dwellings. The interiors may have differed according to wealth and taste, but the smells, sights and inconveniences were common to both rich and poor. This juxtaposition produced a certain amount of tolerance amongst the different social groups as each was aware how the other

16. J.B. Barclay, Edinburgh, (Edinburgh, 1965).

J. Crossland, Victorian Edinburgh, (Mayfair, 1966).

A.J. Youngson, The Making of Classical Edinburgh, 1750-1840, (E.U.P. 1967).

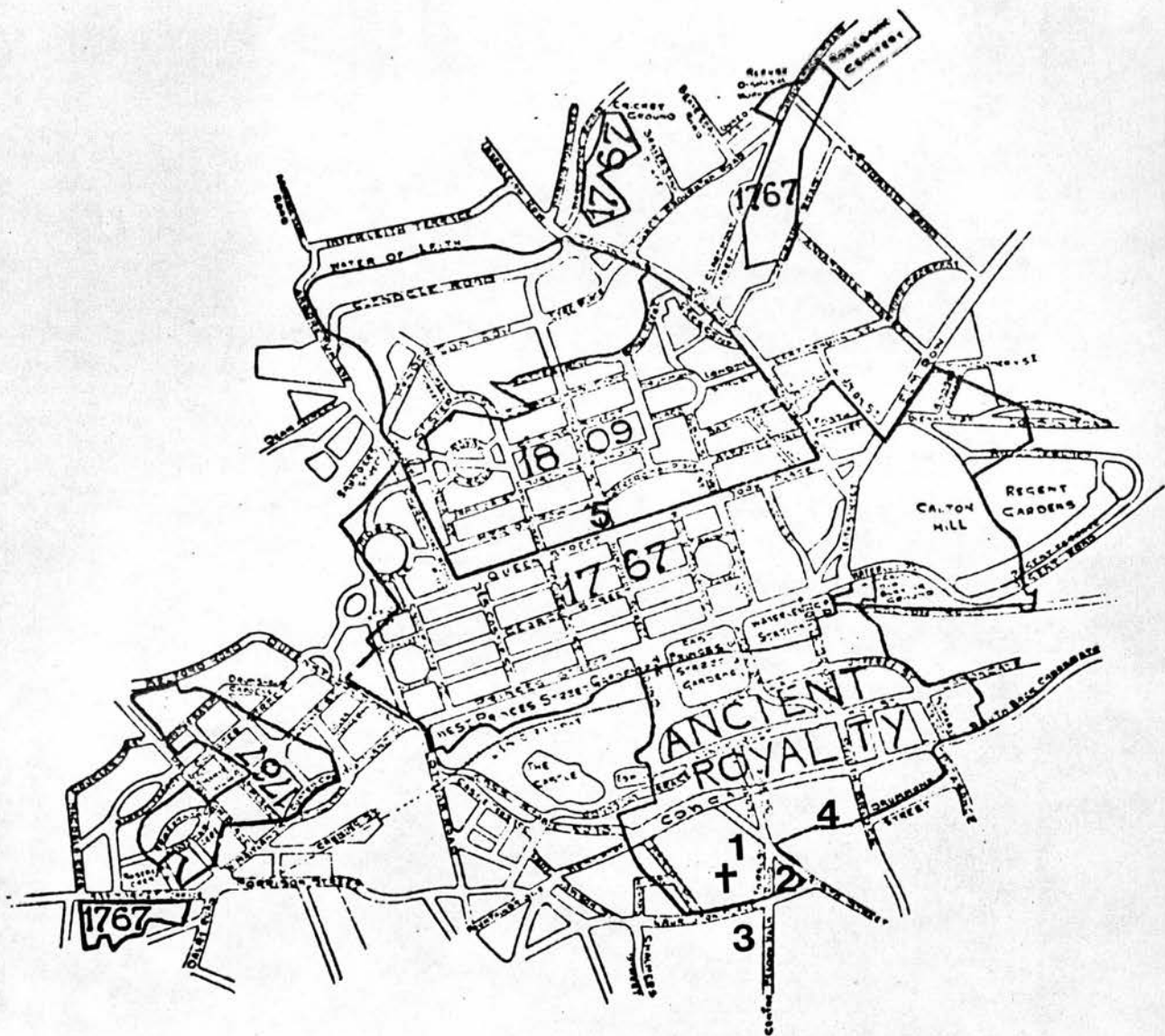
lived, and the intermingling produced a certain amount of social control as well as understanding and interchange of ideas.

In the eighteenth century two changes took place which altered this pattern of society and culture. First, the city boundaries were extended,¹⁷ a process still continuing today, but in 1845, the municipal boundary included parts of the suburban parishes and covered an area approximately ten miles in circumference, with a population of 137,899 according to the 1841 census. Secondly, a new town was built from the North Loch at the foot of the castle over an area which roughly corresponded with the Extended Royalty, and began at the present day Princes Street. This planned residential area of gracious Georgian architecture with private gardens was built in a symmetrical pattern still visible today and was a vivid contrast to the old town. Care was taken to make the new town, as it was known, a delight to the eye as well as inoffensive to the other senses, and within this "modern Athens", residents could achieve a style of life hitherto unknown. The wealthy moved from old to new town, leaving the tenements to the less affluent; Edinburgh became a city divided in itself by economic and social barriers. Rich and poor no longer lived in similar conditions and both sections of society lost some understanding of each other.

The nineteenth century brought further national economic and social change which had local effects and between 1820-26, the new town grew considerably. There was over speculation in a building

17. See p. 18 below; extensions of the burgh taken from Edinburgh, 1329-1929, (Edinburgh, 1929), p.209: points of interest have been marked.

PARLIAMENTARY BOUNDARY BY 1809



Extensions of the Burgh

- 1 Charity Workhouse: later west wing of City poorhouse
- 2 East division of City poorhouse
- 3 Site of Royal Infirmary 1870
- 4 Chamber Street development
- 5 New Town of Edinburgh

Enlarged section of diagram, from M. Wood, (ed). Edinburgh 1329-1929, (Edinburgh, 1929), p.209 showing Parliamentary Boundaries and locations of areas relevant to the text.

mania and the fall in rents was sufficient to attract many middle class ^{people} into the new town areas. Thorburn,¹⁸ writing in 1851, said that low rents were an added attraction to many people from all parts of Scotland who wished to enjoy "the beautiful surroundings, superior educational advantages and refined society of Edinburgh".¹⁹

Up to this point, the old and new towns, although separated by topography and economics still retained slight connections, for the middle class journeyed daily to work in the city centre. The High Street and South Bridge remained the commercial and legal centres but if the middle class noticed the change in their former homes at all, they would perhaps only be aware that the actual structure and cleanliness had deteriorated. They would not necessarily regard the old tenements as slums, because many had lived there themselves but few remained acquainted with the steadily worsening interiors.

As the population increased and the circumstances of the lower paid workers fluctuated with trade conditions, tenements became subdivided, with more families on each flat than the builders had ever imagined. Labourers of all kinds were drawn to the city as canals, railways and housing construction offered employment opportunities. These workers were easily affected by slight reversals in trade, yet somehow had to find dwellings and rent. Subdivision of tenements was one answer but the squalid conditions within those tenements were not appreciated by the new town dwellers.

18. Thomas Thorburn, assistant inspector of poor, City parish, 1847-51; enumerator for census, 1851.

19. T. Thorburn, Statistical analysis of the 1851 census, (Edinburgh, 1852).

They were certainly not understood by the generation in the new town who had never experienced life in the old part, but as the middle class passed through the Ancient Royalty, the sights and smells forced them to pay attention. In the nineteenth century therefore, improvement schemes were a noticeable feature as the civic administration tried to clean up the old town and remove the marked distinction between the two parts of Edinburgh.

The Town Council set out to demolish the worst areas, and from 1845 onwards many Lord Provosts were connected with various kinds of improvement plans, the more successful being remembered today in streets such as Melville Drive, Chambers Street, et cetera. Boundaries were again extended to give the Town Council greater control; water supplies improved, public parks, libraries and amenities provided. All the schemes had one common feature; they required space. Consequently, old closes and tenements were demolished to make room for the wider streets and every demolition meant a housing shortage for someone. The middle class and better paid worker could invest in the housing radiating from centre to suburb and could participate in the working class housing schemes in Stockbridge and Begg's Buildings at Abbeyhill, but the lower paid could not. Their economic circumstances made it essential that they lived within easy reach of work, shop, pub and pawn, in low rental dwellings.

Every improvement scheme therefore, produced more slums, a great surprise to the planners, but inevitable if the number of houses demolished was not replaced by an equal number of low rentals. For instance, in 1867, the Chambers Street development included the removal of closely packed tenements in what is now

Jeffrey Street and adjoining areas. Rightly condemned by Dr. Henry Littlejohn, the Medical Officer of Health, as insanitary breeding grounds of dirt and disease, these tenements were replaced by the solid Victorian structures still standing today. The housing was beyond the means of the previous tenants who were forced to seek other accommodation within their means. They moved to the already over-crowded areas in the Lawnmarket, Grassmarket and adjacent areas, where sub-lets were further divided and the congested conditions were aggravated by the improvement schemes. The areas still found today below the level of the High Street, areas spanned by the numerous arches of the North, South and George IV Bridges, became worse slums than before.

In spite of all the new plans, therefore, Edinburgh newspapers between 1845 and 1900 could usually report some item regarding tenements and shops gutted by fire, of shops and dwellings which had collapsed due to wind, rain or simply old age. In 1866, a tenement in Bishops Land in the High Street fell down, making sixty-six people homeless, recalling a similar incident in 1861, when thirty-five people had been killed, which had encouraged the Town Council to appoint a Medical Officer of Health. On both occasions, the homeless appealed to the poor relief authority and were given temporary assistance.

In the overcrowded conditions, well described by Littlejohn in 1865,²⁰ physical, mental and moral deterioration prevailed. Those areas housed the recipients of poor relief and this was the

20. Dr. H.D. Littlejohn, Report on the Sanitary Condition of Edinburgh, (Edinburgh, 1865).

situation in which the City Parochial Board had to operate. It was not readily acknowledged that the connection between slums and poverty was economic and was not necessarily due to the ignorance of the poor who, knowing no other way of life, allowed their houses to deteriorate. It was the only kind of housing they could afford, but the idea grew that slum dwellers required education to improve their standards of living and the term pauper developed quite a different meaning. The Parochial Board began to see it as a duty to educate the recipients, to improve their habits to a more acceptable middle class standard, and paupers became regarded as the inferior poor.

The kind of employment offered in Edinburgh was largely seasonal in nature or supportive to middle class living, with no large single industry to give work to the mass of the labouring class. There was a wide variety of trades which required few skilled workers in proportion to the unskilled, and although this reduced employment for men and helped unbalance the ratio between the sexes, it did prevent noticeable large scale unemployment during trade recessions, as was experienced for example, in Glasgow. As the administrative and legal centre of Scotland, Edinburgh offered most opportunities to middle class and professional people, though casual labourers formed the majority of the population of the central area in the 1851 census.²¹ They were the largest single group mentioned, being 1685 men and 289 women, of whom only five men and two women lived in the new town.

21. T. Thorburn, Statistical analysis of the 1851 census,
(Edinburgh, 1852).

Edinburgh also had a higher proportion of females to males in the population than the national average, a fact with which the Parochial Board soon became aware. Women formed the majority of recipients of poor relief, especially those without any male support, but if wages were low or employment uncertain, families with a male wage earner were easily affected by rising prices or depressed trade. As Booth and Rowntree later showed in their surveys in London and York, those living in poverty were not necessarily unemployed, and Edinburgh had many families living below the imaginary 'poverty line'.

The old town, where both native born and immigrants congregated, was further divided into potential poor, poor and paupers. Attracted by hopes of work, of anonymity which urban living offered, medical treatment at the numerous hospitals and dispensaries as well as hopes of easy living by begging and crime, immigrants came to the capital. Not all found work, nor did all seek it, but all had to live somewhere and many were possible applicants for poor relief.

There was a further difficulty in providing relief, for the city proper as the municipality was known, was divided into parishes, each with its own relief arrangements. The actual centre had three such parishes, St. Cuthberts, Canongate and the City, all with their own systems and with ill defined boundaries which were a matter of habit rather than specifically mapped outlines. The 1845 Act offered an opportunity for all three to combine for poor law purposes under one Parochial Board, with advantages for all, but St. Cuthberts in particular, refused to be merged with the City parish, mainly because the City parish would dominate the combination. All continued

separately until 1871, when St. Cuthberts and Canongate did combine, but amalgamation between all three parishes was not accomplished until 1894.

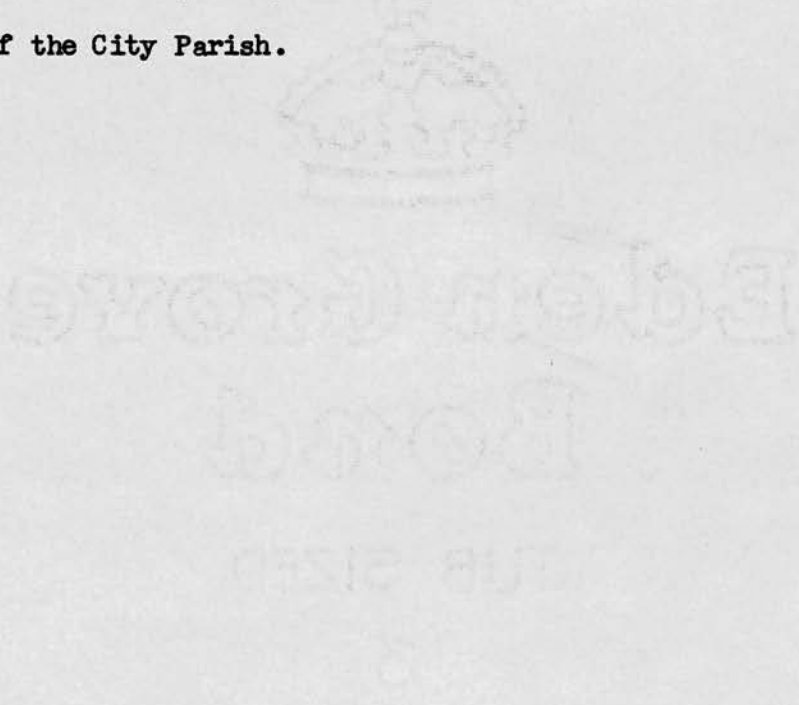
The City parish was the central portion,²² roughly five miles in radius, stretching from Stockbridge in the north to Salisbury Place in the south, with east-west limits bounded by Calton Hill and the west end of Princes Street. The total population was 56,338 in 1841, increasing by 10,272 in 1851; but between 1845 and 1894, the parish did not exceed 70,000 inhabitants, although the burgh population increased from 179,897 to 360,522 during the same period. There were obvious structural limitations on how many people could live in a five mile radius and improvement schemes reduced accommodation in tall tenements. Later population estimates, however, did not include all those on the poor roll because the asylum and new poorhouse after 1870 were outside the parish boundary, and there were many paupers boarded out in country parishes.

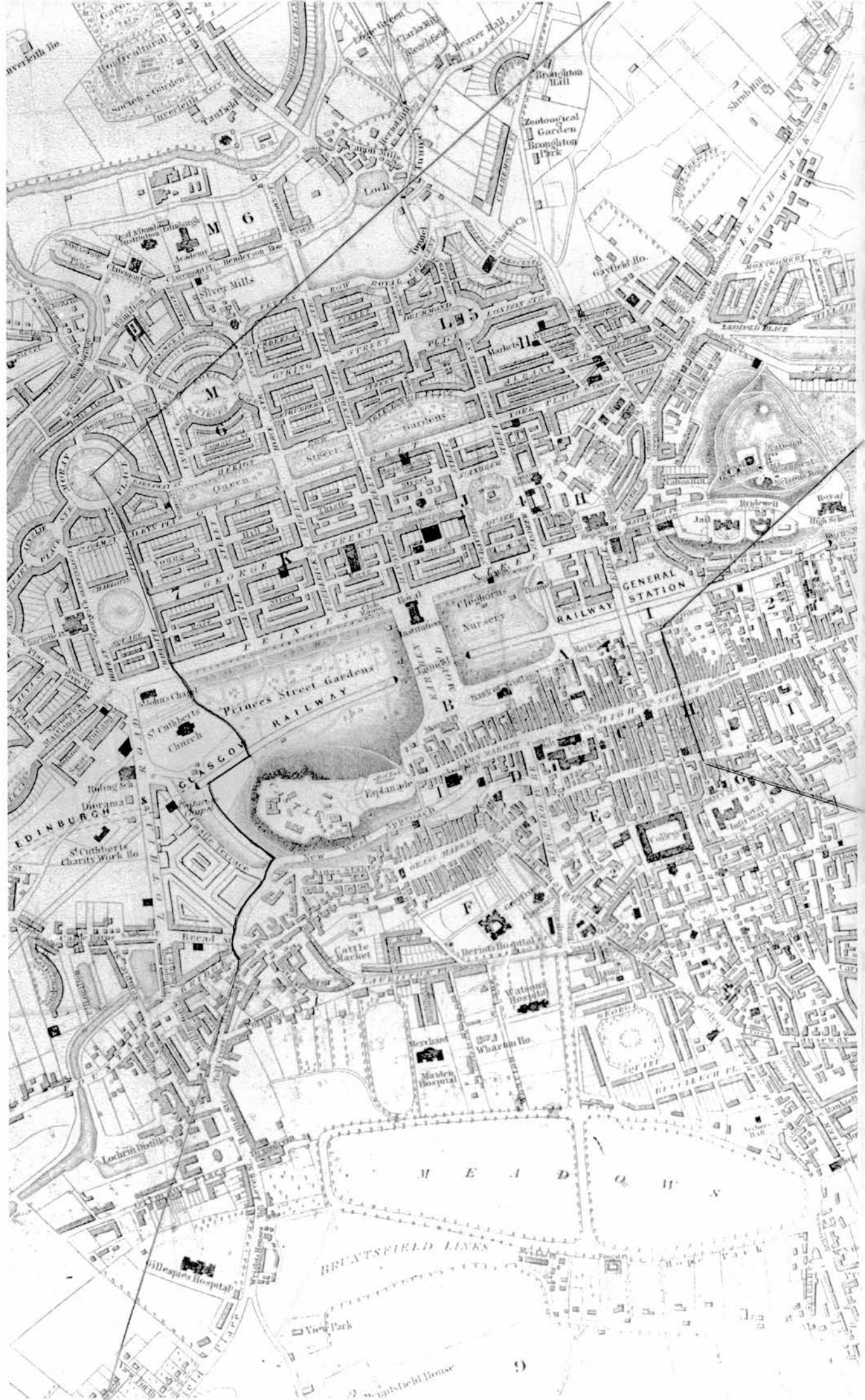
Prior to 1844, poor relief was administered through fourteen kirk sessions, the Episcopal churches, the Town Council and other public bodies, who nominated representatives as managers of the Charity workhouse.²³ The various relief authorities had agreed to build this institution in 1743 and contributed funds towards its maintenance. The workhouse occupied a central site now bounded by Bristo Place, Teviot Row, Forrest Road and Lauriston Place, and in 1844 had accommodation for about 600 adults and 480

22. See p. 25 below, taken from frontispiece, Edinburgh and Leith Post Office Directory, 1850.

23. See p. 18 above.

Enlarged section from frontispiece Edinburgh and
Leith Post Office Directory, 1850, indicating
the boundaries of the City Parish.





children.²⁴

Relief was also given to outpensioners, that is, recipients allowed to remain in their own homes, who received a small allowance in money or in kind, but the total amount given to the outdoor poor collectively, was restricted to £200 per annum. These paupers were classed as temporary or permanent recipients, and could include the able bodied suffering from temporary adversity, who were sometimes known as the occasional poor. An extension of the outdoor relief system was given to children, invalids and lunatics suitable for boarding out with selected guardians in the country, or less preferably, in homes within the city. A guardian received a small allowance every quarter for each boarder and only a few were placed in each private home. Pauper lunatics who could not be boarded out were either sent to the asylum at Morningside, where a reduced rate of board was paid by agreement with the Town Council, or detained in a separate portion of the workhouse, variously known as the east wing, Darien House or Bedlam.

Arrangements were neither financially nor managerially a success and in 1843 there was an accumulated debt of £13,920.10s.2d. Part of the difficulty lay in the unwieldy size of the management committee, for over 100 managers, all with different interests and associations could not form a cohesive group. They failed to cope with the irregular income which did not appear to be sufficient in any one year and became less after the Disruption of 1843. The managers could apply to the Town Council to levy a rate on their

24. D. Keir, The Third Statistical Account of Scotland, vol.XV, (Glasgow, 1966), p.484.

behalf, but the rate suggested was usually reduced by the Town Council and was usually under estimated by the management in the first place. The Town Council was itself in financial difficulties from the eighteenth century,²⁵ and remained in debt to some extent until 1926. This was the reason perhaps, why it was unwilling to draw further attention to its affairs, by levying a high poor rate. It would have been an unpopular action and provoked comment about the Town Council finances in general.

The full extent of the workhouse debt was realised in 1844, and a local Act of Parliament²⁶ was secured, which placed the financial arrangements for relief on a more formal basis. The Town Council was made the relief authority, authorised to levy regular rates on occupiers in the parish, both to liquidate the workhouse debt and cover current expenditure. The City parish was therefore accustomed to a regular rating system shortly before the 1845 Act came into force, but the rate was not levied on landlords as well as occupiers, and there were many legal exemptions. In 1844, the rate of six percent. on four-fifths of the real rent was added to legacies, mortifications and church door collections to give a poor fund of £13,382, and a separate rate of one percent. was imposed on the same people, to liquidate the debt. It was this latter rate which was specifically mentioned in section 91 of the 1845 Act, as being in no way affected by the new law, and it continued to be levied under the 1844 regulations until the workhouse debt was finally

25. D. Robertson and M. Wood, Castle and Town, (Edinburgh, 1928), pp. 230-255.

26. 7 and 8.Vic.c.6.

paid off in 1850.

The continued existence of three parishes in central Edinburgh, and the past financial difficulties in connection with poor relief were but two of the problems with which the City Parochial Board had to cope after 1845. The new administration did not have to begin an entirely new system, but could adapt existing arrangements to meet the new requirements, which, as will be seen, had both advantages and disadvantages.

The development of the organisation in the nineteenth century has been extracted from official records to give some idea of what the 1845 Act really entailed in one large urban parish between 1845 and 1894. The material used is largely confined to official data and relevant sources, in an attempt to show how the administration operated in a nineteenth century setting, under contemporary ideas of poverty and relief. The standards of care were very different from those used today, but the basic methods used became the foundations for future development in the social services.

The following material is divided into two sections, the first dealing with resources available in the City parish, while the actual provisions for relief are in Section II. The collection and utilisation of resources required organisation if relief provisions were to be according to the 1845 Act, but it was some time before the City Parochial Board devised an organisation. The administration was not a local government bureaucracy in the present day sense, but a collection of individuals trying to provide a framework in which to operate. Members of the Parochial Board had a more personal approach than is now customary, although by 1894, it was apparent that the administration had become more impersonal.

SECTION I

Resources

The 1845 Act required all parishes to assemble their resources and convert them into adequate, regular relief provisions for their entitled poor. Both human and material resources were available in the City parish, and as would be expected in the legal, administrative and commercial capital, they were present in both quality and quantity. How each resource was utilised determined the kind of provision made for the large pauper population, but the City Parochial Board was slow to realise that both resources and provisions should be co-ordinated. The interdependence of electoral, managerial, staff and financial resources (dealt with in the following four chapters) was not appreciated by the Parochial Board, and until the connection was made, there was a certain amount of under utilisation of assets, and even wastage. Perhaps because the parish was well endowed, the most economical use of resources was not an administrative priority, but this policy developed gradually as the relief authority became a cohesive unit.

In addition to developing an organisation, the Parochial Board also had to have some idea of its administrative role, not only what was expected by ratepayers, paupers and the Board of Supervision, but what members expected from the City Parochial Board organisation. The definition of role changed during the period, as would be expected from an administration whose members were elected or nominated every year, and were influenced by changing ideas. Initially, each of the five committees appointed to deal with the various duties outlined by the 1845 Act, followed independent lines and concerted action by the administration as a whole was noticeably

absent. The adequate resources always available in the City parish were therefore not always used to the best advantage.

Before these resources can be discussed in detail, however, an explanation of the two tier system created by the 1845 Act is necessary, because it was intended that both levels would work together to provide improved relief for the entitled poor. The 1845 Act came into force on the 4th August, 1845, and the Board of Supervision, as the central authority, was quickly established.

The central Board served two purposes. The members supervised local arrangements, and gave advice when asked, but were careful to confine their remarks to matters within their jurisdiction. Opinions on issues not strictly within the poor law were refused, because the central authority had no intention of being accused of ultra vires actions. The information collected during the supervisory duties was collected and transmitted to the government in an annual report each August, as evidence that both local and central administration were fulfilling their function. The information was also used as the basis upon which the Board of Supervision could devise rules for the minimum standards of care, a duty which it considered very important if relief provisions were to improve. The central authority members made their own rules, but were prepared to allow a certain amount of local flexibility. Although created by an Act of Parliament, the central Board was neither a bureaucracy nor a government department in the modern sense, but functioned as a Board of supervisors, each member contributing his own particular expertise.

The existence of a central authority affected all local administrators, however, for in spite of the general belief that

Parochial Boards could manage their own affairs, if inadequate arrangements were brought to the notice of the central Board, close investigation quickly followed. Many Parochial Boards regarded the central authority as a resource from which advice and help could be sought,^{*} but the City Board rarely used the service, even though the Board of Supervision premises were within the parish boundary. It preferred to rely on the expertise of its own members instead; but in making provisions for paupers, the City Board had to fulfil Statutory and central Board requirements, if it wished to reduce central intervention to a minimum.

The Board of Supervision's powers of compulsion were few, and local Boards were largely left to organise their own administration, but the minimum standards gradually devised by the central authority had to be incorporated in these arrangements. Parochial Boards which ignored the regulations found themselves threatened with court procedure for obstructing implementation of the law. Few could afford intensive legal involvement with the Board of Supervision, particularly since it was discovered that the court usually decided in favour of the Board of Supervision. It was safer for a Parochial Board to respond to

the various "suggestions" made by the central authority. The City Board, although often disagreeing with the Board of Supervision, never opposed it as far as actual court action, and was only threatened with possible legal procedure on one occasion.¹ Not all suggestions were adopted by the City Parochial Board, but administrative decisions had to be taken with reference to the Board of Supervision's requirements.

1. See p.^{III} below.

* For example, Parochial Boards sought advice when new legislation increased their responsibilities. After 1855, advice was sought regarding local responsibility for the Burial Ground Act, 18 and 19.Vic.c.68.

The composition of the central authority could have been an intimidating feature to many Parochial Boards, for the legal profession and landed proprietors were very much in evidence amongst its members. There were nine Statutory members, and though the Board of Supervision was not an elected body, the members had been chosen to give some kind of representation to the different regions of Scotland. The Sheriffs of Perth, Renfrewshire and Ross and Cromarty were supposed to represent the agricultural, industrial and Highland regions respectively, while the two Lord Provosts of Glasgow and Edinburgh represented the urban areas.^{1a} These five members were likely to change frequently as Sheriffs were promoted to other legal appointments and the Lord Provosts concluded their normal three year term of office. The former acted as legal advisers to the Board of Supervision rather than spokesmen for their regions, working in conjunction with another member of the Board, the Solicitor General, to deal with all legal inquiries connected with poor law administration. The presence of four members of the legal profession increased the Board of Supervision's status and value as an adviser to local Boards, many of which were willing and eager to seek help. The City Board had legal experts of its own, and had little need to consult the central authority.

The Lord Provosts tended to represent their respective Town Councils, so although it seemed that Edinburgh had a direct connection with the Board of Supervision, this was not true for the relief authority. After 1846, when the City Parochial Board was finally elected, no Lord Provost ever held office on the relief authority in the parish, and hostility between the Town Council and the Parochial Board precluded any possible attempt to enlist the support of the

1a.Scotus, The Scottish Poor Laws, (Edinburgh, 1870), p.43. Also supported in the evidence given to the S.C.Poor Law (Scotland), 1868-69.

Lord Provost to further the City Board's interests.

The other three members of the central authority were Crown appointments, one of whom was the paid chairman Sir John M'Neill, (brother of Lord Colonsay, who as Lord Advocate had introduced the 1845 bill into Parliament) was the first chairman, serving until 1868. As an Edinburgh trained surgeon, he was instrumental in organising medical relief arrangements and improving facilities available to paupers. His medical connections helped to increase the status of, and employment opportunities for, his professional colleagues, but M'Neill was also well known in diplomatic circles² and had influential connections with the government.³ On his suggestion, the other two members of the Board of Supervision were chosen from either side of the House of Commons, in an effort to promote political balance,^{3a} a practice which continued until the Board of Supervision ceased to exist in 1894. This was an attempt to exclude politics from poor law administration and a similar policy was expected at local level.

The Board of Supervision had influence apart from its Statutory position therefore, and the composition of its members was probably one of the reasons why even the City Board's policy was affected by central directives. There was also the fact that the central authority's headquarters was within the City parish boundaries, within easy reach of anyone who wanted to complain about the local

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2. Minister plenipotentiary to Shah of Persia, 1836-42; awarded K.C.B. P.L.M. 1868-69, p.389.
 3. Reported on Crimea for government, 1855; Privy Councillor, 1857; P.L.M. 1868-69, p.390.

Certainly this was Sir J. McNeill's intention. He stated to the S.C. Poor Law (Scotland), 1869, 'he felt that the Board should be free of party bias and from the suspicion of party bias'; quoted in the Scotsman, 21 April, 1869.

administration; the subsequent investigation could be quickly made.

In theory, the Board of Supervision was responsible to the Secretary of State to whom the annual report was sent and who approved any regulations which the central Board wished to make into Statutory requirements. The report was used to show how the duties were being fulfilled and suggest any amendments the Board of Supervision thought necessary. It was also used to inform the government of the incidence of pauperism in Scotland, the social problem towards which the Act was directed, and statistical data formed a large part of each report. With no power of audit, however, the Board of Supervision could not check the local data submitted, and Parochial Boards tended to illustrate their efficiency by sending in favourable figures, for to do otherwise might incur central intervention.

This lack of auditing power was one of the frequent complaints made by the Board of Supervision in its reports, as this certainly reduced the amount of control it could exert. The government ignored the complaint, but from 1848, the Board of Supervision did have partial financial control in connection with the allocation of the government grant towards medical relief.⁴ All local expenditure for medical help to paupers could be checked by the central authority, before a share of the grant was awarded, but not every parish in Scotland chose to participate in the yearly grant. Those who did, like the City parish, found their provisions rigidly supervised and any defective arrangements could result in a decreased share of the grant. Medical relief was at least one

4. £10,000 a year for Scotland, increased to £20,000 in

1882. It is impossible to say how many parishes took part in this grant, because the numbers fluctuated each year. As the regulations became more complex, some Parochial Boards refused to participate in the scheme.

aspect of provisions in which the City Parochial Board had to conform to the regulations, and submit vouchers for all claimed expenses.

The same procedure followed when a grant towards provisions for lunatics⁵ was given from 1875, and also in regard to the government contribution towards rates under the Local Taxation returns in 1882, part of which was for poor relief. This limited power of audit for three aspects of poor relief did help the Board of Supervision establish a certain amount of uniformity in arrangements, and as the City Board participated in all three grants, brought the central and the local Board increasingly into contact.

The Board of Supervision conducted its affairs from an office in George Street, assisted by a paid secretary, who was always a lawyer. The office staff was small, but from 1856 was increased to include an inspectorate, a necessary complement to fulfil certain sections of the 1845 Act. As previously mentioned,⁶ the central Board could not initiate action, but once a complaint had been lodged, a thorough investigation swiftly followed, often into all aspects of relief administration in the parish concerned. At first, these inquiries were conducted by members of the Board of Supervision, or specially appointed Commissioners, or its own clerical staff, but the arrangement was not satisfactory. After frequent complaints, a further Act⁷ was passed to allow the central Board to

5. Lunacy grant, 1875; not a fixed sum.

6. See p. 13 above.

7. 19 and 20. Vic.c.117.

It is rather surprising that the 1845 Act did not give the Board of Supervision these powers, since their usefulness could have been deduced from the English example.

appoint outdoor staff and two General Superintendents were appointed as a central inspectorate. Scotland was divided into two areas, and each Superintendent was responsible for investigations in one of them. A permanent Visiting Officer specifically concerned with poorhouse management was later added to the staff. These three men not only investigated complaints, but made themselves thoroughly conversant with local administration and their regular reports supplemented the less accurate details sent in by each local inspector of poor. The chance that defective arrangements would continue undetected by the Board of Supervision became ^{more} less remote, as the City Parochial Board quickly discovered, and the inspectorate from the central office exerted an important influence on local arrangements. The role of the local inspector will be discussed later;⁸ these men were locally appointed by each Parochial Board, but depended upon Board of Supervision approval for their continuance in office, the latter having sole authority to punish or dismiss them. The central authority had therefore, a certain amount of control over local employees, which became more intensive during the period. By various means, the Board of Supervision was able to insist that provisions met the minimum requirements, and although local Boards were allowed to exercise a certain amount of discretion, even the City Board discovered it could not operate entirely without some central intervention.

The Board of Supervision pursued a cautious diplomatic approach which was effective in gaining local co-operation without hostile obstruction to the law, but there were three major lines of policy

8. See chapter 3 below.

which local Boards were expected to reflect. First, the central Board insisted that the basic requirements of the Act should be carried out, no matter what local resources were available and was prepared to take court action against any Parochial Board which did not provide adequate relief. Secondly, the minimum standards of relief, gradually devised and frequently altered over the next forty-nine years, had to be part of local provisions, and conform to the Board of Supervision's definition of "adequate relief". Any change in public opinion, standards of living and government reform were all reflected in the central authority's definition of adequacy, and parishes which tried to be too parsimonious, found themselves under constant supervision.

Lastly, the Board of Supervision insisted that all applicants for relief should be individually considered, a casework approach already tried by Chalmers,⁹ and did not allow a uniform rate of relief for categories of paupers. How relief was granted was left to local Boards to decide, unless there were complaints of inadequacy, but the Board of Supervision undermined its original individualistic approach when it later suggested¹⁰ that indoor relief might be more beneficial for certain types of applicants. As will be seen, the City Board was encouraged by the central authority to give differential treatment to classes of paupers, instead of help according to individual circumstances.

The second tier of administration was the Parochial Board, whose membership was determined by the status of the parish and

9. See p. 6 above.

10. B.S.A.R. 1872-73. B.S.M. 24 January, 1878.

how funds were raised. Parishes were classed as burghs or non-burghs, according to tradition or whether they sent a Member to Parliament, each type being allowed to decide whether funds would be raised by assessment or through voluntary contributions. If no rates were levied, both burghs and non-burghs were known as "unassessed parishes", and the composition of the Parochial Board continued to be the heritors and the kirk session.

In parishes where rates were imposed, the difference between burghs and non-burghs was more pronounced but in each case, ratepayers elected a certain number of representatives to the Parochial Board. The property qualification and the number of these representatives was determined by the Board of Supervision and was based upon the population in each parish. The election took place each year, but all members were eligible for re-election. A burgh Parochial Board consisted of a number of elected managers, four nominees from the magistrates and four from the kirk session, and this constitution applied for the City parish of Edinburgh.

The main effect of the two tier structure of administration was to place responsibility for providing relief on the local Board, with the central authority ensuring that each Parochial Board fulfilled its duties. A parish which managed to operate in a tolerable manner, with few complaints and to the satisfaction of the Board of Supervision, had little need for further contact with the central authority, unless advice was sought. The amount of central control therefore depended upon a Parochial Board's efficiency, the City Board for example, managing with relatively little central intervention until the 1860's when the Visiting Officer reported the defective arrangements in the City poorhouse.

After the new institution was opened in 1870, the City Parochial Board could again operate with little intervention from the Board of Supervision.

One of the easiest ways of preventing complaints being lodged was to placate the ratepayers, and the City Parochial Board had also to remember that the ratepayers were the electorate who placed it in office.



Eden Grove

Board

THIS SIDE

Chapter I.

Electoral Resources

In August 1845 the Town Council of Edinburgh continued to act as the relief authority in the City parish until a properly constituted Parochial Board could be elected. It was decided to continue imposing rates, so the City parish was an "assessed burgh for poor law purposes". Due to previous financial commitments,¹ and the presence of large numbers of paupers, the Parochial Board, (as the relief authority was known from the beginning), had little choice in its decision to levy rates, and in any case, the rate to liquidate the Charity workhouse debt was unaffected by the new law.

After due deliberation, the Board of Supervision decided that the City Parochial Board should consist of twenty-five elected members; five members for each of the five wards into which the parish was divided for poor law administration. In addition, there were four nominees from the magistrates of the burgh and four from the combined kirk sessions, so the City Parochial Board consisted of thirty-three members, all of whom held office for one year. It was an unusual combination, because few parishes had a majority of elected members on their local Boards, yet three-quarters of the City Parochial Board was directly elected, and a further four were indirectly elected because of their connection with the Town Council. Members were elected on a property qualification, the amount of which was decided by the Board of

1. See p. 27 above.

Below

Supervision, and heritors were not allowed to be members of the City Parochial Board, unless they were elected.

Heritors were inhabitants who held lands and heritages in a parish, and were entitled to be members of a Parochial Board in unassessed parishes, but were required to hold property over £20 a year in value in assessed non-burghs. The regulations did not apply in assessed burghal parishes and although not part of the constitution of the City Board, require a little explanation. There were two problems connected with heritors as poor relief administrators. Firstly, they could issue mandates to persons willing to vote on their behalf at meetings, which gave rise to situations in which local Boards were composed of a large number of heritors who issued mandates to a few people. These proxies to vote were rarely checked at Parochial Board meetings to see if they were valid, or if they had been given for specific meetings or particular issues; the abuses of the system were often criticised. Railway companies, for example, could be represented as heritors on several Parochial Boards, but in spite of the extensive railway property in Edinburgh, the companies were excluded as heritor managers on the City Board.

The City Parochial Board members were themselves heritors, collectively, in the parish of Colinton where the new poorhouse was opened in 1870, and the inspector of poor was delegated to vote on their behalf, but the lack of heritors on their own Board made members refuse to collaborate with any parish wishing to have the mandate provision abolished. The City Board took a leading part in many controversial issues, holding conferences and sending deputations to Parliament and the Lord Advocate, but it

refused to become involved in the heritor dispute, or any matter not directly affecting its own interests. As the central parish of Edinburgh, the City Board support was invaluable, because its status and legal facilities gave additional weight to any discussion. Like many other Parochial Boards, the City Board remained limited in outlook, illustrating the sectionalisation and regionalism which played a dominant part in poor law administration in the nineteenth century.

Secondly, large numbers of heritors in a parish made the Parochial Board too unwieldy for practical purposes and "Acting Committees" were formed to manage poor law affairs. This placed power in the hands of a few people, as the entire Parochial Board met only twice a year as required by law. The City Board, with only thirty-three members and no heritors as non-elected members, was neither too large to make an Acting Committee necessary, nor too small to fulfil its numerous duties without overwork, but because the Acting Committee system operated in the adjoining parishes of St. Cuthberts and Canongate, the idea lingered in the City parish. As a result, although five committees were appointed to deal with the various aspects of poor relief administration, and each member of the Parochial Board was placed on at least three committees, there was no co-ordination. Each committee tried to be the "Acting Committee" and assume control, so the administration failed to become an integrated unit under a strong Parochial Board until 1859.

The elective nature of the Parochial Board meant that voters were an important resource, for without their support, the City Board could not exist. The only qualification required by the 1845 Act to be entitled to vote for members, was payment of current

rates in the parish, and the connection between rates and votes was a very important feature in the City parish. In 1845, the parish had a population of 56,330, of whom approximately 10,000 were persons under twenty-one years of age, if the figures given by Thorburn in 1851² can be taken as a guide. The City parish appeared to have a vast franchise, even if the principle of one vote per person had applied, but according to section 19 of the Act, multiple voting was allowed.

Both owner and tenant paid rates in the City parish, but the maximum number of votes per person allowed by the Act was six, for owners and for occupiers of property over £500 annual value. No person could have more than six votes within the parish despite ownership or occupancy of property of greater value. The parish was divided into five electoral wards and anyone with voting rights in more than one ward, had to decide in which ward he would exercise his vote.

Tenants paying rates on a rental of between £40-60, for example, had three votes, but if they were also owners of property of the same value, they had another three votes. Property of between £60-100 annual value carried four votes, but owner occupiers in this case still had a maximum of six votes. Property of under £20 annual value gave both owner and tenant one vote each, so in theory, all property in the parish was rateable and payment of rates enfranchised both owner and tenant. In practice, this did not apply.

Joint Stock Companies were assessed for rates and could elect one person to vote on their behalf, so railways, canals and public

2. T. Thorburn, Statistical analysis of the 1851 census, (Edinburgh, 1852).

undertakings within the City parish had at least one vote each. Their property was usually extensive and had a high annual value so probably carried more than one vote, though railways in particular spent much time disputing their assessments. It was doubtful on many occasions whether the companies were entitled to vote since they were usually in arrears in paying their rates.

Single women or widows who paid rates also had a vote according to the above principles. In Scottish local government, therefore, women did have the vote for Parochial Board elections from 1845, though it is not known how many exercised their right, because no polling books are available for the City Board elections.

There were certain factors which operated to reduce the apparently wide franchise. Firstly, married women who owned property did not have voting rights, for according to section 26 of the Act, husbands voted on their behalf until the Married Womens Property Act of 1881³ changed the law. Secondly, certain property was exempt from rates, and although the Act was ambiguous on this point, Crown, and later ecclesiastical property⁴ and public institutions had rating exemption. Edinburgh as the administrative, legal and clerical capital of Scotland had many buildings under this description, and resident tenants as well as owners had no vote, because the premises were not assessed.

It was also possible under section 42 of the Act, for any individual to claim rate exemption on grounds of inability to pay, a decision which was entirely up to the Parochial Board to grant

3. 44 and 45. Vic.c.21.

4. 37 and 38. Vic.c.20.

after investigation of the circumstances. Many exemptions were granted each year by the City Board, but in each case the person lost the right to vote. Paupers who received an allowance which included rent and rates were not necessarily disenfranchised, because payment of rates was the qualification to vote and was unaffected by receipt of relief. A person on the poor roll because he was destitute and disabled could vote for the administration, while a person exempt from rates on grounds of poverty, but not receiving relief, lost his vote. When the administration reduced the number of outdoor recipients after 1860, it also reduced the number of potential voters amongst paupers, because indoor recipients did not have the right to vote.

Not all outdoor paupers paid rates, however, and the City Board operated certain restrictive practices which reduced the potential voting population further. One of these, which although strictly illegal, continued to operate until 1894, concerned property of under £4 annual value, the dwellings of the poor. It was common practice for rating authorities to exclude this type of property from rates, because the expense of collection and poinding for arrears often exceeded the actual sums involved. After 1854,⁵ the valuation roll did not include tenants paying under £4 rent, but there seems to have been some confusion as to whether the owners of the property should be included on the roll or not. The valuation roll was used as the basis for the assessment of poor rates, but as the City Board had not assessed property of under £4 annual value from 1845, it decided that the omission from the valuation roll was proof the practice

5. 17 and 18. Vic.c.91.

should be continued. It meant illegally depriving both owner and tenant from voting, and though the Board of Supervision did not approve, no action was taken against the City Parochial Board because no-one appeared to complain. It was an issue for the law court to decide, to settle a principle of law, but the legal department of the Parochial Board decided it was quite within the Parochial Board's power to decide the issue for itself. It did not seek advice from the central authority, though other Parochial Boards did, and the practice, declared by the Board of Supervision to be of "doubtful legality",⁶ continued to operate in the City parish.

A similar situation arose with unlet property, which again was not always entered on the valuation roll. At first, the City Board did not levy owners rates, which excluded owners from voting. When extension of rates to all property in the parish became an important Parochial Board activity, unlet property was assessed for owners rates and voting rights could then be exercised. Owners could also lose their right to vote when the whole amount of rates payable was levied on tenants, who could reclaim the owners share from the landlords. If the tenants did not pay their burdens however, the owners were disenfranchised, because of being legally in rate arrears, but they might not be aware of the fact until arriving at the election place. When the rate was no longer equally divided between owner and tenant, separate notices were sent out to each and the problem was resolved.

A further restrictive practice was related to both the Board of Supervision's rules for elections and Parochial Board arrangements.

6. B.S.M. 1 September, 1853.

B.S.M. 17 November, 1867.

The yearly elections took place on a day approved by the central authority in each of the five wards⁷ in the parish, at a time and place determined by the City Board. There were no polling booths or ballot boxes until the Board of Supervision changed the rules in 1881, and in each ward voters had approximately one hour to register their vote. Ward 1 for example, which was largely composed of the Grassmarket area, voted at 10.a.m. on a weekday, ward 2 at 11.a.m. on the same day and so on, until ward 5, in the new town, had its election at 4.p.m. Few working people could be present at the elections during the week, especially the lower middle class and labouring population, and the arrangements further decreased the franchise.

How many voters actually exercised their rights each year could only be calculated from polling books, but various evidence suggests that relatively few voters turned up at the elections. This cannot be entirely explained as lack of interest, because the restrictive practices must have had some effect. The Royal Commissioner's report of 1844 and contemporary writers indicate some opposition to rates, yet here was one large urban parish levying a regular rate, in which the ratepayers did not appear to be very interested in choosing the administration who would redistribute their money.

7. Exact boundaries of each ward not available; approximate areas included:- Ward 1; Grassmarket; Ward 2; High Street; Ward 3; York Place to Leith parish boundary; Ward 4; Pitt Street to Stockbridge; Ward 5; new town. See also map p. 25 above.

There is only one election⁸ return available which shows the number of people with the right to vote, and, with the exception of ward 2, the number who actually voted.

Election return for 1848

<u>Ward</u>	<u>Number with the right to vote</u>					<u>Number voting</u>
1	3068 electors with 4710 votes					47 electors with 74 votes
2	2260	"	"	5328	"	no poll
3	2873	"	"	6063	"	3 electors; no poll.
4	2430	"	"	5227	"	26 electors with 59 votes
5	2760	"	"	6681	"	12 electors with 39 votes

Over 13,000 people could have voted in 1848, yet excluding the unknown number in ward 2, only 88 actually voted, a poll of approximately 0.67%. The return not only demonstrated how few voters went to each ward meeting, but also how people had more votes under the multiple voting system in the new town compared with the old. The low value property was largely in wards 1 and 2, which covered most of the Grassmarket, High Street and Lawnmarket areas. Wards 3 and 4 were a mixture of old and new towns, areas which had originally belonged to the Ancient Royalty and parts included under the Extension Acts. Ward 5 was completely in the new town, where high value property offered more opportunity to exercise the multiple vote. "No poll", indicated a unanimous decision on all five candidates nominated and seconded at the meeting, a vote being necessary only when more than five candidates stood for election.

8. See p. 48 above; P.B.M. 20 July, 1848.

Further evidence of lack of voters at the elections can be found in the minutes, where up to 1856 the number of votes for each candidate was recorded. It was rare for the successful candidates to poll more than 100 votes each, the average number being between 40 and 50 each. This might indicate the same number of people present at a ward meeting, but the operation of the multiple vote could mean unequal proportions between voter and votes.

After 1856 votes for candidates were not recorded, and only when a ward was contested, (that is, had more than five candidates standing) was the necessity of a poll mentioned. The information about voting interest is sparse, but there were two other features which indicated that Parochial Board elections did not produce the wide franchise possible.

From 1846 to 1894, there was no complete turnover in Parochial Board membership, only sufficient change to prevent the establishment of a re-elected oligarchy each year. About one third of the City

Board obtained re-election each year. This proportion was later the annual retirement proportion demanded for County Council elections after 1888,⁹ and Parochial

Council elections when the Parochial Boards were replaced in 1894.¹⁰ In each case, one third of the members stood for re-election every three years and previous experience in Parochial Board membership was obviously used as a guideline for future local government constitutions.

The Parochial Board members retained office by re-election for between three and twenty-six years, although the longest serving

9. 52 and 53. Vic.c.50.

10. 57 and 58. Vic.c.58.

member, James Blackadder,¹¹ was an exceptional case. The re-election process indicated managerial willingness to stand, and also that voters were willing to allow them to continue as members. Either voters were satisfied with the Parochial Board they had, or only enough voters turned up to require a poll in one or two wards each year. Up to 1875 voters proposed and seconded candidates at the actual ward meetings, as the above figures for ward 3 indicate, but under a change of rules by the Board of Supervision, a prior nomination date was necessary and only candidates so nominated could stand for election. From this time onwards, a poll was uncommon, perhaps because voters did not think it necessary to attend ward meetings if they approved of the candidates nominated. Voting interest is, however, difficult to assess from the small amount of information available.

There was one election regulation which did indicate how few voters usually attended ward meetings and how many were willing to register their votes under different circumstances. As mandates were not allowed in the City parish, these only operating when heritors were part of the Parochial Board, each voter had to exercise his right personally. But according to the Board of Supervision rules when more than 100 voters came to any one ward meeting, there was an adjournment, and all ratepayers in that ward received voting papers. Naturally this increased expenditure and would have been mentioned in the minutes, by the Finance committee at least, but there was only one recorded instance. In 1861, in

11. James Blackadder, Parochial Board member, 1846-72; elected for ward 3; Town Councillor.

ward 1, more than 4000 voting papers were issued and collected, interest having been roused by two features.

Firstly, the Parochial Board was considering in that year the¹⁸⁶¹ building of a new poorhouse, which would entail a large amount of capital expenditure, and as this could only be met by rates, would require a higher poor rate. The Parochial Board was undecided whether to take this step or not, but the members who represented ward 5 in the new town, decided to gain ratepayers support by holding a meeting prior to the election. They were successful, and all five were re-elected at the subsequent election, but the meeting was reported in the press and aroused interest in other wards. Ward 1, which was mainly the Grassmarket area, was particularly interested in the proposed project, because many paupers came from this area and the removal of the poorhouse from nearby Forrest Road, would affect paupers, relatives and shopkeepers.

Secondly, voting interest in the Grassmarket had been aroused by a religious controversy, and this was an area where many Irish Catholics lived. Controversy between Protestant and Catholic, as well as hostility towards the Irish, tended to flare up periodically in Scotland, and during the 1860's seemed particularly active. The Board of Supervision was accused of showing religious bias against Catholics,¹² and the City Board were accused of unfair treatment of Catholic paupers, as well as of trying to prevent the election of Catholic members on the Parochial Board.

There was one Catholic member on the City Board from 1858, Robert Campbell. A well known advocate, he used his position to

12. B.S.M. 21 May, 1862.



accuse his colleagues of discriminating against Catholic paupers, and in his complaint to the Board of Supervision¹³ he made it clear he was a Catholic himself. An investigation followed his complaints which were found to be groundless, but the incident aroused great interest and coupled with the new poorhouse issue, accounted for the unusual number of voters in Campbell's own ward. Unfortunately, the advocate had misjudged the voters, for he was defeated at the election. He did not increase his popularity by appealing to the Sheriff to have the election declared illegal, on the grounds that the inspector, as returning officer, had falsified the returns. This was a grave accusation, which involved both the Sheriff and the Board of Supervision in subsequent investigations. Had the accusation been proved, the inspector would have been dismissed and the election result declared null and void. The incident illustrated, however, how interest in the Parochial Board election could be roused, and how more voters exercised their rights when voting papers were issued and collected. If the procedure had been a common occurrence, it would have meant that more than 100 voters were attending ward meetings, but as it was mentioned only once, it would appear to have been unusual.

Perhaps it was difficult to generate much interest in Parochial Board elections, which were, after all, a yearly event, and do not appear to have been occasions for "junketing".¹⁴ There was a long standing tradition of feasting at Town Council elections prior to

13. B.S.M. 20 December, 1860.

14. D. Robertson and M. Wood, Castle and Town, (Edinburgh, 1928), p. 183.

burgh reform in 1833, not only amongst the electors, but amongst the candidates. The Parochial Board did not appear to indulge in providing free drink, nor were the elections occasions for holidays, and although information about the cost of the election each year is scarce, the minutes indicate that the amount rarely exceeded £150 for the whole of the City parish. If no special project was under debate, or ratepayers were satisfied with the rates for the past and coming years, voters may well have regarded the procedure as a mere formality. Voters, as ratepayers, were primarily interested in the amount of rates to be paid, and any change stimulated interest, as it does today. Rates were relatively stable in the City parish from 1848, so perhaps the electorate regarded this as proof that the Parochial Board members were fulfilling their obligations satisfactorily, and saw little necessity to attend election meetings.

Whether the fact that all the electorate could vote only for middle class candidates affected voting interest is difficult to decide. Members had to possess a property qualification of £35 annual value, which, although reduced to £20 in 1852, and to £12

in 1893, in relative terms went down more markedly, since the property value of the parish was increasing.

From the 1860's, improvement schemes demolished many low rental buildings in the old town, replacing them by premises of higher annual value, so any reduction in the property qualification for members would not necessarily widen the choice of candidates. Apart from the property qualification, however, members of the City Parochial Board had to be available to attend daytime meetings, so could only be drawn from the sections of society where absence from employment during the working week was possible. Perhaps voters

would have been more interested in elections if candidates had been drawn from a wider cross section and contested elections between the various sectors would have stimulated voting interest.

There was also a good deal of confusion about the date of the Parochial Board election, and it was not the only local body relying on voters. The Town Council, Road Commissioners, Police Commissioners, School Boards - in fact any ad hoc body in local government, held elections on different dates with varying qualifications, franchise and procedure, and most of them had different boundaries and electoral wards. The Parochial Board election was only one of many, and perhaps Edinburgh citizens were overwhelmed by the variety of elections for restricted forms of democratic representation, which they might attend. In any case, ratepayer representation was a relatively new concept from 1832, and required time for the procedure to be understood and appreciated.

To add to the confusion, however, the Parochial Board kept altering its election date and the financial arrangements for rates, changes which may have made it more difficult for valid votes to be recorded, and which certainly did not help generate the interest a specific date each year would have done. The constant changes were not entirely due to inexperienced administration, for the real difficulty lay in the connection between rates and votes, the validity of the latter being dependent upon the payment of current rates. The intervals between the imposition of rates, the final date of payment and the election were important, and assessment was linked to the date of the financial year.

From 1845 to 1850, the latter was fixed for October, so an

election, in July, three-quarters through the financial year was very suitable. Lack of voters exercising their rights during this five year period was due to other factors than the relation between rates and votes, and it was possible that the new franchise was imperfectly understood. It was wider than anything before 1845 and members did not appear to appreciate fully the new requirements. Although the Parochial Board was required to bring the election to the notice of the public through the press, by street placards and announcements in churches, there was always the possibility that newspapers were not widely circulated, or that voters could not read and that the street notices soon disappeared. Potential electoral resources could be lost for many reasons and so long as the Parochial Board candidates received sufficient support to elect them to office, they apparently failed to appreciate that they would not necessarily be automatically re-elected each year.^{14a.}

Nor did the administration realise that voters might dispute the election a contingency for which the 1845 Act had provided. On the return for 1848 already mentioned,¹⁵ for example, a single ratepayer objected to the property qualification of one of the elected members in ward 1, and the sheriff investigated, as he was required to do by law. The complaint was valid and the candidate who had received the most votes out of the remaining unsuccessful men standing, was duly elected to take the improperly qualified member's place. The Parochial Board was made aware both of the ratepayer's interest and how election results could be disputed by a single voter, and this was the reason for the return being recorded

14a. For example, J.G. Thomson; see p.68, below.

15. See p.48, above.

in the minutes.

In 1850, even if the voting system was better understood, City parishioners were subjected to changes of dates both for rates and for the election. The Parochial Board decided to alter their financial year to May, partly because of the difficulties in deciding who was liable for rates when occupancies changed hands, a change which was most likely to occur on the term days in May and November and had given rise to many disputes. May was chosen in preference to November because the City Board wanted to make its financial year coincide with that of the Board of Supervision, to whom elaborate returns had to be made each May. The City Board levied a half year's assessment to adjust the system, which not only appeared to confuse ratepayers, but left about ten weeks between the date when rates were due and the election. It was too short a period for either voters or candidate to be sure they were not in arrears, and the Parochial Board was forced to alter its election date.

Many difficulties would have been solved if the Parochial Board could have arranged the election for a date three-quarters through the financial year, or even a short period before the yearly assessment was imposed, but the Board of Supervision refused to allow any parish to be without elected members for any length of time, or to bring forward the election date. The 1845 Act stated that each Parochial Board held office for one year, and the central authority made every parish keep to this requirement. To alter the date at all was difficult in the City parish where large numbers of paupers were dealt with weekly, and there could be no hiatus in poor relief arrangements. The election date was therefore altered a few weeks at a time each year until by 1854, it was the end of September; it

was intended to continue this procedure until the election was held at the end of November. The interim period each year was covered by the eight nominees, who continued to be nominated every July and the City Board appeared to have solved its difficulties.

In 1854, the Valuation Act¹⁶ was passed and assessment was henceforth based on the valuation roll prepared by the Town Council; this could not be issued until after appeals had been heard in September. The Parochial Board estimated the poor rates in May, but could not legally levy the rate until after the valuation roll was published, and the Parochial Board collector had calculated the exact assessment from the valuation roll. An election prior to October was therefore quite impossible and many Parochial Boards complained to the Board of Supervision.

The Board of Supervision finally issued a circular¹⁷ suggesting rates should be levied in November to bring the two Acts into working harmony, but the City Parochial Board was in the midst of internal difficulties, as the Law and Finance committees strove for supreme authority. The latter were prepared to make the change, although it would have required altering the financial year, but the Law committee was not. Acting on the legal members advice, the Parochial Board changed the election date yet again, a procedure which continued until 1864, when it was finally fixed for the last Wednesday in January. At last Edinburgh citizens had a regular election date in the City parish, but from this time onwards, the election rules were altered and it was not until 1881 that voters

16. 17 and 18. Vic.c.91.

17. B.S.M. 30 October, 1856.

had a settled procedure. Ballot boxes and polling booths were then introduced, the latter remaining open in every ward from 10.a.m. until 7.p.m. and all voters had the opportunity to exercise their voting rights.

The complicated election rules, the frequently changing date and the numerous elections held in the city would be expected to have some effect on voters, even though the period was one in which much interest was stimulated in 'democratic' representation at both local and national level. From 1860 onwards there were demonstrations in Edinburgh, agitating for Parliamentary reform, the largest one probably being on the 17th November 1866, when about 12,000 people marched through the city.¹⁸ Interest in national reform must have stimulated inquiries about local government representation, although Parochial Board elections did not appear to have had political connections.

Candidates did not stand as declared members of any political party, nor did there seem to be canvassing on party lines. When the Corrupt Practices Act¹⁹ came into force, the City Board complained to the Board of Supervision that the requirement that all candidates in elections should declare their expenses incurred, was unnecessary. The central authority, while sympathising with any Parochial Board which complained of this requirement, had no power to waive Statutory obligations, and the City Board members had to complete the declaration, even though their expenses were nil. The complaint did indicate that

18. W.M. Gilbert, Edinburgh in the Nineteenth Century, (Edinburgh, 1901), p. 141.

19. 53 and 54. Vic.c.55. section 25.

canvassing was not a general rule at Parochial Board elections, and the minutes do not record any political affiliation of members.

Few voters complained about the system, there being only seven cases of disputed elections before the Sheriff in forty-nine years, none of which were serious enough to have the election declared null and void. Nor were many complaints made to the Board of Supervision that the inspector, as the returning officer at elections, was not properly executing his duties. Only on two occasions had the central Board to investigate such a complaint, and in both cases, the complaint was judged to be groundless.

The right to vote appeared to be an important issue of the period, and the connection between rates and votes seemed to be an acceptable qualification in general. At various dates during the period Poor Law amendment bills were introduced into Parliament; none of these were passed, but any which omitted this qualifying clause were severely criticised. The City Board sent a deputation to the Lord Advocate²⁰ about one of the bills, and this point was stressed both at the meeting and in the general press. When the qualification was omitted in the Local Government bill in 1893, there was general protest²¹ and the 1894 Act continued the connection between rates and votes.

The important resource of the electorate was gradually realised by the Parochial Board, and by 1861, some members obviously sought support from ratepayers when they wished to pursue a course of action about which the Parochial Board was hesitant. The electorate and

20. P.B.M. 18 March, 1872.

21. P.L.M. 1894, pp.88,145,181,395,407.

managers were interdependent, however, for there was little use providing voting rights if there were no candidates willing to assume the responsibilities of management; this was, in fact, one resource with which the City parish was well supplied.



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Chapter 2.

Managerial and other resources.

Nineteenth century Edinburgh offered many opportunities to different sections of society, but with the creation of an attractive residential area as well as the presence of legal, administrative, church and medical centres within the city, more opportunities were available to the middle class. During the period, commerce, insurance and banking developed rapidly,¹ providing attractive remunerative employment, and the city earned a reputation as a centre for financial gain. The Stock Exchange opened in 1844 and prospered, while a Society for Chartered Accountants began in 1854, as the need for professional book-keepers arose. Many shops opened in the increasingly busy thoroughfares; Princes Street as well as the North and South Bridges developed as hives of commercial enterprise.² Merchants of every kind found Edinburgh a profitable centre and company organisation became a prominent feature in finance and commerce. Managerial opportunities were numerous, offering both paid and honorary positions to those with organisational ability, and the Town Council, Police Commissioners, Road Trusts and other ad hoc bodies, both Statutory and voluntary, were available to those who wished to participate in civic administration.

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1. D. Keir, The Third Statistical Account of Scotland, vol.XV, (Glasgow, 1966), p. 571.
 2. See also, W.H. Marwick, 'Shops in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Edinburgh', Book of Old Edinburgh Club, vol. 13, November, 1959.

With so many managerial possibilities to choose from, the Edinburgh middle class might not have been eager to be associated with a new administration dealing with poor relief after 1845, yet the Parochial Board never lacked candidates (though not very many), and could attract the unpaid services of thirty-three persons each year, some of exceptional administrative ability. Why these representatives of voters, magistrates and kirk sessions were willing to participate in poor law activities is not easy to explain. No single motive can be isolated as their main driving force, for like all human activities, motivation is difficult to unravel. In this historical context, when time separates us from the only people who could have offered an explanation, it must be assumed that they had mixed motives in which civic pride, interest in social welfare with legal, medical, financial and educational aspects as well as organisational development, all played a part. The City parish, unlike some others in Scotland,³ never complained of lack of members, which was fortunate, because managers had to proceed through the electoral system, and could not be assigned to poor relief administration simply because they held property within the parish. Not only were there willing candidates each year, but after 1860 they agreed to incur more responsibility for the paupers in their care.

In considering managerial resources of any type of administration, two questions may be asked. First, what kind of expectations have the candidates about their role and secondly, does the role fulfil their expectations? Both are important issues, not only in helping explain why managers take positions in many cases, but also, why they

3. B.S.M. 3 December, 1849.

leave, or why the administration changes its purpose. Commercial organisations find the issue important, but it is also important in unpaid administrations, particularly those connected with the social services.

The care of the poor in the nineteenth century was not necessarily regarded as an activity carrying with it high status, despite its previous connections with Christian duty, philanthropic ideals, social conscience or political motives for control. Much depended upon the attitudes and opinions in society about the cause of poverty and whether paupers were regarded as unfortunate or improvident. Dr. Stallard, writing about London in 1867 said pauperism was regarded as an incurable disease, "only susceptible of alleviation by harsh and repressive measures".⁴ In his opinion, the poor law authorities regarded paupers as "contemptible animals" on whom no sympathy should be wasted. The Charity Organisation Society in their eighth annual report in 1876 said "it is hurtful misuse of money to spend it on assisting the labouring classes to meet emergencies which they should themselves have anticipated and provided for".⁵ The administrative attitude could be affected by opinions such as these, and relief provisions reflected managerial ideas. If poverty was thought to be caused by adverse circumstances largely outwith the paupers' control, then help was a necessary act

4. J.H. Stallard, London Pauperism Amongst Jews and Christians, (London, 1867), pp. 291-292.

5. Eighth annual report of the Charity Organisation Society, 1876, appendix iv, pp.24-25; quoted, D. Fraser, Evolution of the British Welfare State, (London, 1973), p.249.

of charity, but if due to improvidence, then help without re-education was "indiscriminate, irresponsible behaviour" often condemned by the Charity Organisation Society. As will be seen, the City Parochial Board began to stress supervised relief from 1859.

The Parochial Board was a new venture, whose duties were little understood at first, but since it was a Statutory organisation giving public assistance to the entitled poor, managers could be regarded as respectable civic-minded citizens, attempting to fulfil a public and necessary duty. The administrator was affected by public interpretation of his role, however, and whether his efforts to help the unfortunate poor aroused commendation or condemnation for encouraging impostors was important to him. During the period, public opinion changed and this was in part the reason for the administration beginning to stress relief which included rehabilitation; consequently as educators, the Parochial Board achieved more status and respect at a time when both government and society were concerned with education in general.

Whatever other motives were present when City parish candidates stood for election, self satisfaction played an important part, although existing in varying degrees in each individual. Whichever aspect of relief activities was most satisfying to the member, that is, the one he felt he was most able to carry out, influenced his choice of committee membership. Little satisfaction could accrue from his activities, however, if the whole relief process was regarded as degrading in some way. The administration did not then fulfil his expectations, and the manager either left the Parochial Board, refusing re-election, or he tried to alter the organisation.

As long as the pauper was an accepted part of society, the Parochial

Board derived a certain amount of status, respect and satisfaction from being part of an efficient administration, and efficiency could be easily demonstrated by having a stable or decreasing poor rate. As attitudes changed and some paupers were regarded as largely responsible for their own poverty, the administration had either to re-educate them or else lose status. Attitudes towards paupers were very important therefore, and affected relief programmes provided and the type of manager willing to participate in the administration.

Political motives do not appear to have played an important part in either the central or the City Board's activities and there is no evidence of candidates canvassing for votes on political grounds. Mention has already been made⁶ of the Corrupt Practices Act of 1890, and also of the Board of Supervision policy with regard to political impartiality.⁷ There is no indication in the minutes that politics played any part in the City Parochial Board administration, nor that any member had political affiliation, but official records in the nineteenth century were abbreviated accounts of what actually took place at meetings, and many incidents were not recorded. They were not compiled in the more formal manner of today, and do often indicate that heated arguments had taken place, but political interests do not emerge from the records, nor from the brief newspaper reports of Parochial Board meetings.

Members did have connections with education, charitable organisations, the church, the Town Council and other sectors of

6. See p. 58 above.

7. See p. 33 above.

the community, but few brought these specific interests into official debates, according to the minutes. There were a few exceptions, for instance, Robert Campbell already mentioned,⁸ a dedicated Catholic representative who objected to the policy pursued by the Parochial Board regarding Irish paupers with no settlement in Scotland. From press reports, it appeared that Edinburgh was often criticised for discriminating against Irish Catholics, but this action was not confined to the capital. The Board of Supervision received many complaints from other parishes and Catholic clergy, particularly during the 1860's, but Campbell did not admit that the controversy was widespread. From 1877, a Catholic priest was regularly elected for ward 1 on the City Parochial Board, but showed little religious bias, and the controversy seemed to wane, both on a local and national level until later in the century.

Some members had associations with the temperance movement, and poverty was often thought to be caused by the temptations of alcohol. Bailie Lewis⁹ was a prominent member of this movement, and his interest can be traced in the records, as he demanded returns and information to try and establish the link between drink and poverty. His specific interest was well known in Edinburgh, as he voiced his opinions at the Town Council meetings, at public gatherings and from the bench as a local magistrate. Many of the returns he

8. See p. 52 above.

9. David Lewis, Parochial Board member, 1865-73; Town Council nominee; author, History of the Temperance movement in Scotland, (Edinburgh, 1860).

asked for at the Parochial Board meetings were conveniently forgotten by his colleagues and the inspector, and those produced either omitted the number of bottles purchased for medicinal purposes, or gave no indication of the varying size of bottle. In general, members outside activities rarely intruded into poor law administration, and it was from other sources that various connections have been made. It is difficult to discover from the minutes for example, that both Robert Cranston¹⁰ and James Darling¹¹ were temperance hotel owners in Edinburgh, because unlike Lewis, they did not make their interests specifically known at meetings. Nor was it apparent that the W.P. Alison,¹² who stood for ward 5 between 1846 and 1848, although only successful in the first two years, was the same Professor of Medicine of the University, whose views had been criticised by Chalmers before 1845.

A few members were obviously interested in administrative procedure, and were responsible for much of the standardised routine introduced at Board and committee meetings. The City Treasurer, J.G. Thomson,¹³ for example, organised finances in the very complicated book-keeping procedure he introduced, although his ideas were not always appreciated by his colleagues, some of whom complained that

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- 10. Robert Cranston, Parochial Board member, 1873-85; Town Council nominee; owner Old Waverley Hotel.
 - 11. James Darling, Parochial Board member, 1886-90; elected ward 3; owner Regent Temperance Hotel.
 - 12. See p. 8 above.
 - 13. James Gibson Thomson, Parochial Board member, 1845-48; elected ward 5; City Treasurer, 1845-47.

the system was quite incomprehensible. The staff found his methods very complicated also, and made many mistakes, so when Thomson was not re-elected in 1848, another system was introduced, although Thomson continued to send in ideas for the benefit of the Parochial Board. Financial procedure was constantly changed in the City parish office, and all the systems appeared to be complicated, although each system was thought to be a simpler method of book-keeping.

Office routine was better organised, particularly under the administrations of J. Marwick¹⁴ and W. Skinner,¹⁵ and when both men had achieved their purpose, they left the Parochial Board to continue their particular interests as Town Clerks, in Edinburgh and Glasgow. Many of their innovations remained standard practice in the City Board office and at meetings, and were acknowledged as promoting efficiency.

Private profit might have motivated some members to offer their services to the Parochial Board, for although forbidden to supply goods to the City Board during their term of office, it was possible for members who had family businesses or partners to avoid the Board of Supervision rule. When Joseph Cotton was a member between 1846-1859, the snuff and tobacco contract to the poorhouse was fulfilled by other members of his family concern; this was not an isolated example. It was also possible to learn how tenders for

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- 14. James Marwick, Parochial Board member, 1857-60; Town Council nominee; Town Clerk, Edinburgh, 1860-73; Glasgow, 1873-1903.
 - 15. William Skinner, Parochial Board member, 1865-73; Town Council nominee; Town Clerk Edinburgh, 1874-95.

supplies were awarded during membership of the Parochial Board, knowledge which could be turned to advantage when no longer a member. As will be seen from the advertisement for supplies,¹⁶ the Parochial Board bought in quantity and contracts were both profitable and regular. Private profit for either members or ex-members was difficult to prove in local government in the nineteenth century, as indeed it is today, but as Edinburgh prospered, businesses grew larger and direct links between members and commercial enterprises were more difficult to establish. W. Murray for example, was part of a large grocery firm, who in 1888 got the contract to supply the poorhouse, whilst Murray¹⁷ was still a member of the Parochial Board, but it would not necessarily have been obvious to members that he was part of the firm.

The majority of members of the City Board were merchants,¹⁸ successful middle class business men, capable of issuing instructions, organising routine and dealing with finance. Paper work became an important part of the administrative machine as accounts, registers, reports, statistics, checks and counter checks on both staff and procedure, were introduced. Clerical work became a priority as members sought to be efficient, and it was very significant that the clerical staff increased quicker than the executive employees who dealt with recipients. Applicants for relief had to fill in a printed schedule and inspectors spent much of their time keeping records of their work, reporting investigations regarding settlement

16. See p. 70 below.

17. William Murray, Parochial Board member, 1882-93; elected ward 2.

The contract was awarded in May, 1888, to Thomson and Murray. The address of this firm which from time to time changed its name, was the same as that of Murray himself, or within a few doors of his home. The Post Office Directory gave conflicting information in different years.

18. See chart, p. 71 below.

Enlarged copy of the advertisement for supplies,
taken from the City Parochial minutes.



THE CONTRACTORS.—The PAROCHIAL BOARD

of the City of EDINBURGH wish to receive Offers to supply the POOR-HOUSE under its charge with the following Articles and Quantities, less or more, viz. :—

BARLEY—120 Cwt.

RICE—40 Cwt.

PEASE—24 Cwt.

BREAD—15,000 dozen six-ounce Loaves.

" 200 4-lb. Loaves.

To be delivered as required during the next five months.

Best MID-LOTHIAN OATMEAL—to be delivered as follows, and the Manager to have the power of accepting the offer for the whole supply, or any part thereof, viz. :—200 Bolls in the first week of November, 200 Bolls in the first week of January, and 200 Bolls in the first week of February.

Offers and corresponding Samples for the above must be sent in to Mr Hay, Inspector, before Two o'clock, on Friday the 29th October current, and every Article contracted for must be delivered in exact conformity with the samples and offers, otherwise the articles will be rejected.

The Board do not hold themselves bound to accept the lowest offer.

All goods must be delivered free of expense, at the Poor-House, and no delivery can be made later than one hour before sunset.

Office of Parochial Board, Forrest Road, Oct. 22, 1847.

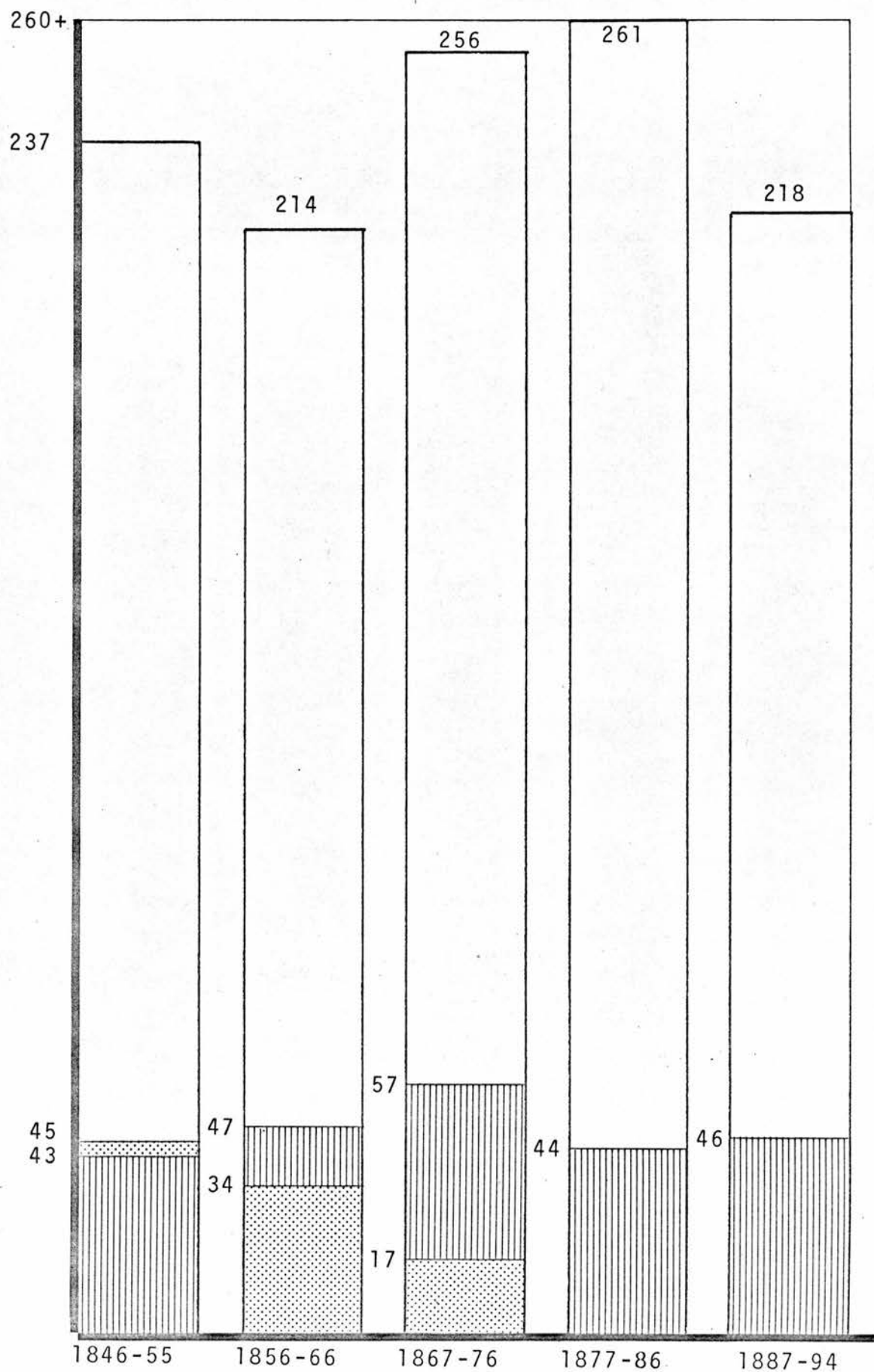
PROPORTION OF MEMBERS OF THE CITY PAROCHIAL BOARD

1846-1855

1867-1876

1887-1894

1855-1866 (no election 1863) 1877-1886



and possible relatives of paupers, while in 1852, a full time law clerk was appointed to assist the law agent. A certain amount of paper work was necessary, but perhaps the merchant members placed too much emphasis on an aspect which was a familiar routine in business.

The occupations of a few of the Parochial Board members remains undetected and it is possible that they came from the upper class or were gentlemen of private means, with both spare time and interest in social welfare. Very few details about members appear in the minutes, and press reports do not always indicate occupations, but members of the legal and medical professions are easier to trace. Both these professions were in a minority compared to the merchant class, but their presence did reduce the influence of the merchants, particularly on the Finance committee, for both the Law and the Medical relief committees exerted their authority to prevent a financial oligarchy under merchant domination.

Up to 1856, Writers to the Signet were the most common representatives of the legal profession, which appeared to be very rigidly stratified. After this date, less exalted branches of the legal fraternity were members of the Parochial Board, but lawyers were not predominant in numbers. Between 1891 and 1894, there were six lawyers on the City Board, the largest number for any one period, perhaps because interest had been stirred in the discussions about impending changes in local government and extension of city boundaries, which would require legal advice and bring additional work to the legal profession. The Parochial Board would be implicated in the change and would certainly require advice if, as was being suggested, all three parishes united under one relief authority. The actual

number of lawyers on the City Board however, was relatively unimportant, because they had status and influence which few occupations cared to challenge and could exert pressure quite out of proportion to their numbers on the Board.

Edinburgh was the leading legal centre in Scotland and lawyers not only enjoyed a reputation for their legal knowledge, but were also involved in banking, insurance and investment trusts by virtue of their involvement in legacies, bequests and so forth. As members of the Parochial Board, lawyers gave both legal and financial advice and the influential Law committee, which established a law department after 1850, with a full law clerk and agent, enabled the Parochial Board both to challenge the Board of Supervision's opinions with confidence, and to require little advice from the central authority. Though few in number, the lawyers exerted considerable influence in poor law administration and perhaps persuaded the City Board to resort to court action to settle disputed matters a little too readily.

The City Parochial Board's fondness for litigation was criticised in an article in the Poor Law Magazine in 1859,¹⁹ which stated that the City parish had spent £7,879.4s.9d. between 1852 and 1858, in court actions. As a result, the Parochial Board inquired into the Law committee's affairs more closely than hitherto and decided that in future expenditure on litigation should be reduced. Perhaps the City Board was less alarmed at the adverse criticism than the discrepancy between the amounts stated in the article and those published in the Board of Supervision's annual reports, the details of which had previously been submitted by the City inspector.

19. P.L.M. vol.1. 1859-60, p.331.

The latter showed that only £1,988.8s.9½d. had been spent on litigation during the same period, an excellent example of the inaccurate data returned to the central authority, because the amounts in the article were never denied by the Parochial Board.

Furthermore, the criticisms were answered in a later issue of the Magazine,²⁰ by James Marwick, who had just left the Parochial Board to become clerk to the Town Council. He had previously been convener of the Law committee, and not only agreed with the criticism that the City Board were too fond of taking issues to court, but said the amount spent had been very much under estimated in the magazine article. Between 1852 and 1858 the City Board had spent £10,474.7s.6d. on litigation, over £2,000 of which had never been shown on any abstract of accounts, because no one was sure to which year it belonged. In Marwick's opinion, litigation was not profitable and had caused more hostility between parishes than it was worth, but, he hastened to add, the discrepancies in the accounts had not taken place during his term of office. He also added, that the Parochial Board had decided to take more care regarding court actions, and he was sure that the City Board would no longer be accused of undue litigation. The minutes did not record the reaction of Marwick's colleagues to the disclosures, but perhaps the incident helped to influence their decision to appoint an inspector in full control of affairs, and no longer to have either a law department or a law clerk, who would pursue unnecessary court actions.

The medical representatives on the City Parochial Board between 1846 and 1881, helped to organise relief facilities for both indoor

20. P.L.M. vol.1. 1859-60, p.701.

and outdoor recipients requiring medical attention. Services for the outdoor poor included attendance from the district medical officers employed by the Parochial Board, medicines from the City Board dispensaries and admission to hospital when required.

Inmates were attended by a resident physician and consultant surgeon in the large hospital section of the city poorhouse, and the medical members of the Parochial Board were largely responsible for organising these arrangements. From 1881 however, no member of the medical profession stood as a candidate for the Parochial Board, perhaps because the profession had both increased in status and was more involved in preventive medicine and public health duties. Policy making activities may not have offered the same satisfaction to medical men who could further their careers in the numerous opportunities offered in Edinburgh.

After 1875, many candidates for the Parochial Board were nominated by Dr. Henry Littlejohn, the city Medical Officer of Health, who was very interested in poor relief and wished to improve housing conditions for the poor, as well as the city's amenities in general. The medical profession therefore were concerned with poor relief both through this association, and as City Parochial Board employees as district medical officers. The well organised facilities were largely due to their initial membership of the City Board as well as this continued interest. Sir John M'Neill's²¹ regulations were properly implemented in the City parish, and facilities for paupers were superior to the medical services available for the majority of the labouring class.

21. See p. 33 above.

On at least three committees of the Parochial Board, occupational interest was apparent, as the financial, legal and medical men used their knowledge and influence to organise these aspects of relief administration. A division of labour in this way tended to produce "blinkered vision", as committees failed to review the organisation as a whole. To counteract this disadvantage, a strong co-ordinated Parochial Board with an able executive inspector was essential, but the City Board had neither until 1859 and failed to prevent petty squabbling at committee level which adversely affected its administrative efficiency. During the 1850's, the Parochial Board gradually became aware that arguments at committee level resulted in resources being under utilised or wasted, but although members tried to effect changes, they were hampered by an inspector whose health was failing and who was unable to co-ordinate the administration. "To work together for the benefit of the administration and the ratepayer",²² as the chairman suggested, was impossible unless internal difficulties could be resolved and the inspector could act as a co-ordinator.

In addition to poor law duties, the Parochial Board was given other responsibilities by the government, in the numerous Acts of Parliament passed after 1845 in a spate of social reform. The Lunacy Acts²³ and Public Health²⁴ legislation to name but two spheres of reform, utilised the existing local authorities to fulfil Statutory requirements, and the Parochial Board had to reorganise its administration to meet the increasing responsibilities. Government

22. P.B.M. 2 September, 1853.

23. eg. 29 and 30. Vic.c.51.

24. 30 and 31. Vic.c.101.

recognition in this way increased administrative status, from which Parochial Board members benefited, but it also increased the need to be, and to continue to be, efficient. The appointment of a new inspector in 1859 indicated that the members wanted a change of policy, for it was acknowledged that the post was no longer suitable for a clerk, and an experienced man, George Greig, was appointed to take full charge of the City Parochial Board affairs. Once the administrative activities were co-ordinated, the Parochial Board was able to turn its attention to the task of organising the recipients, which had been previously neglected, and each member became more involved in relief provisions than in purely administrative duties.

In spite of the initial fragmented procedure the abilities of managers as well as their availability was an important feature in the City parish, for incompetent management had previously incurred a large debt at the Charity workhouse,²⁵ which the Parochial Board inherited in 1845. The members tried to organise a framework through which relief could be distributed, and used the committee system already operated by the Town Council. Financial resources were organised and staff employed to translate policy into action, but there was little long term planning or interconnection between resources and actual relief provisions.

A certain amount of continuity of policy was possible because some members were re-elected each year, and provided a stable element which was important to the administration. Long term planning was not a conscious policy, but some aspects of administration required

25. See p. 26 above.

a continuity in action which would have been impossible without the presence of some re-elected members. The new poorhouse project for example, first mooted in 1861, did not mature until the institution was opened nine years later, but once begun, it was not a project which could be rejected when the membership of the Parochial Board changed after an election. The more experienced members were able to guide the newly elected in administrative procedure, legal and financial matters and prevent any repetition of the debt previously incurred by the relief authority in 1844. An oligarchy could have easily developed, and to some extent did emerge at committee level, but complete control by a few members was prevented by two factors.

The re-elected were only about one third of the total Board in the City parish, not sufficient to dominate all policy or able to reject all new ideas. They did prevent some ill considered schemes being hastily put into operation, and possibly prevented extravagant plans being implemented. Secondly, the City Board had only thirty-three members, too large a number to permit the re-elected to dominate every committee, and all members were required to participate in order to cover the various aspects of relief provisions and administration. Even when the re-elected tried to establish dominance in any one committee, their power was soon disputed by other committees,²⁶ and after 1859, when the five committees were co-ordinated into a unified whole, domination by a few members was not possible. The advantages of working together were quickly appreciated, but it was fourteen years before the City Board developed this administrative organisation.

Standard procedure developed in the administration because the

26. eg. frequent disputes between the Law and Finance committees.

Parochial Board soon realised that the use of Standing Orders, agendas and other organisational methods, both reduced the amount of work at each meeting, and enabled the members to make decisions. Unfortunately, a by-product of the organised system was the strict adherence to rules of procedure, which could lead to little action being taken on some matters. Controversial issues, for example, which could disrupt the meetings or take up too much time, were not always fully discussed, particularly at Parochial Board meetings when press reporters might be present.²⁷ The matters were either remitted to committees, where they were often shelved each week until another committee demanded action, or they were "laid on the table". This should have meant that members would consider the matter at leisure, but far too often "the table" was as far as they got. The appointment of an efficient inspector in 1859 revised this custom of literally tabling matters, for he not only presented each member with an agenda beforehand, but also included any deferred items of the agenda, and made a regular report of all matters remitted to committees. As he attended both Parochial Board and committee meetings, he was able to keep all members acquainted with poor law affairs and the administration became a viable co-ordinated body.

The Parochial Board was largely drawn from the middle class, partly because of the property qualification and partly because of daytime meeting arrangements. As already mentioned, the qualification was reduced during the period, at first in 1852 by City Board insistence. It complained that the property qualification for the Parochial Board was higher than that for the Town Council,

27. eg. P.B.M. 3 April, 1856.

yet there were four nominees from the latter authority as members of the City Board. The Board of Supervision reduced the qualification to £20, but in 1893, the request for a further reduction came from the Home Office,²⁸ who wanted a nominal qualification for all elected members of Parochial Boards. The central authority refused, being convinced that the 1845 Act had been framed to have a "meaningful qualification",²⁹ not the government proposal of £5. To have such a low figure might have encouraged candidates who had a personal interest in relief provisions, because they had relatives or friends who were entitled to claim. The qualification was reduced to £12 for the City parish, but it was not possible to assess the effect, because within one year the Parochial Board ceased to exist. Its place was taken by the Parish Council which was entirely elected and administration was quite differently organised.

The daytime meetings of the City Parochial Board further restricted membership of it; both committee and Board meetings were held in the forenoons or early afternoons during the week. It was suggested in 1879 that the Poorhouse committee should meet monthly at 6.45 p.m. and the Law committee at 4.p.m. although no reason was offered for the change. The new arrangements were short lived, for within a few months, the previous daytime meetings were resumed. Neither change affected attendances, but the return to the status quo might have been influenced by the forthcoming elections. Perhaps it was thought that evening meetings might encourage working

28. B.S.M. 8 December, 1892.

29. B.S.M. 29 December, 1892.

class candidates, who might qualify on the £20 annual value regulation but would not be able to absent themselves from work during the day. Whatever the reason, daytime meetings were resumed and continued until 1894.

Until 1884, the City Board operated another restriction by excluding women as managers, although this was not stated in the Act or forbidden by the Board of Supervision. Widows with property would qualify as heritors in some parishes, and although heritors did not form part of the City Board, there would be some women in the parish who also qualified under the managerial property regulation and might have stood as candidates. As women were excluded from the Town Council and kirk sessions, the only possible way in which a woman might become a Parochial Board manager in the City parish was by election. From 1872,³⁰ women played a prominent role in the School Boards and their success in this field, in addition to the changes brought about by the Married Women's Property Acts may have encouraged them to stand for the City Parochial Board. An Association was formed in 1881,³¹ whose sole purpose was to get women elected as poor relief administrators and in 1884, two women³² were successfully elected in ward 5. Both were nominated by Dr. H. Littlejohn, but as only five candidates were nominated, no poll was necessary. Whether this was due to ratepayers acceptance of women candidates, or male candidates deciding to allow Littlejohn's nominees to be returned unopposed was not clear, although one of the

30. 35 and 36. Vic.c.32.

31. Edinburgh Courant, 23 October, 1883.

32. Phoebe Blyth, 1884-94; Katherine Robertson, 1884-85.

members for ward 3, Alexander McKnight,³³ an advocate did not appear to have been in favour of women managers. Nevertheless, he had to take his place on the same Poorhouse committee as the two women members, because by this date, this committee comprised the whole Parochial Board.

There were several subdivisions of this committee, however, and the two women were placed on the sections dealing with clothing and works. The latter dealt with structural alterations, drains, lavatories, arrangements for venereal disease wards and so forth, and if this was a male attempt to discourage women attending, it was a failure. Both attended regularly, participating in all discussions and one was successfully re-elected for the next ten years.

Between 1884 and 1894, five women in all were Parochial Board members, which was not a large proportion although a persistent feature of the City Board. They did not manage to intrude into the more influential committees dealing with law and finance nor were they conveners of any committee until 1895. Perhaps their exclusion from financial affairs offers some clue as to their relatively late entry into poor law administration. After all, women had always played a prominent part in charitable organisations and continued to be visitors and Bible readers to the City poorhouse inmates after 1845. The Parochial Board was, however, a direct rating authority and for women to enter the financial or legal world is a twentieth century development. Both fields were very important aspects of Parochial Board administration and School Board membership did not present the same difficulties. Their legal activities were few,

33. A. McKnight, Parochial Board member, 1881-86.

and the education boards were indirect rating authorities, because the school rate was collected by the Parochial Board. Perhaps the financial aspect explained why it took women forty years to become members of the City Parochial Board.

A few elected members on the City Board were also Town Councillors, an average of about three each year. In addition to the elected members, however, there were four nominees each year from the magistrates or Bailies, who were the senior Councillors, so approximately one ^{quarter} ~~eighth~~ of the Parochial Board had this dual connection each year. The Bailies presided in the burgh courts, dealing largely with petty crime with which poverty was often linked, and the Parochial Board seemed to benefit from the connection by obtaining a certain amount of co-operation from the police. Vagrants and later unruly inmates in the new poorhouse, were often dealt with by the police, while the prison authorities were encouraged both to visit the poorhouse and to inform the Parochial Board of any prisoner likely to require poor relief on his discharge. ^{33a} The co-operation between senior Councillors and the Parochial Board seems to have been limited to this aspect, however, and the hostility which developed between the Town Council and the City Board was a long standing disadvantage.

The Town Council had been the relief authority prior to 1845 and continued to act as the Parochial Board until July 1846, when a properly constituted local Board was established. In fact, the City parish was one of the last in Scotland to have a proper Parochial Board for the Town Council seemed reluctant to relinquish its control. The new ad hoc relief authority was a powerful rival, for it not only collected rates in the burgh, but collected more income than

33a. The Parochial Board discussed these matters with the authorities, for example, P.B.M. 17 April, 1872; October, 1889; September, 1894.

had been possible when the Town Council levied an assessment. Both owners and tenants had to pay rates under the Parochial Board and there were few legal exemptions, but the Town Council only levied the Annuity Tax, always a controversial issue, providing as it did, stipends for the ministers of the established church.

In 1856, the Town Council took over the collection of burgh rates from the Police Commissioners, and offered to collect poor rates also; this was a sensible idea, particularly as the same assessor operated for both bodies. The Parochial Board refused the offer,^{33b.} not on the grounds that consolidated rates might not be legal, but simply because they did not wish to relinquish their direct rating authority. The Town Council was further aggrieved when the school rate was entrusted to the Parochial Board, and the financial arrangements did appear to account for some of the hostility between the two bodies.^{33c.} Perhaps the fact that the Parochial Board collected and redistributed rates as relief within the Town Council area of jurisdiction, but without direct Council control, encouraged Councillors to stand for election, quite apart from the Statutory nominees, and it was these members who introduced the administrative procedure into Parochial Board organisation. They organised the book-keeping and were usually members of the finance and legal committees, but no attempt was made to gain their support to further relations between the Town Council and the City Board.

The hostility which developed resulted in frequent misunderstandings, the more serious of which ended in court actions, which was an expensive procedure for the ratepayer, who elected both bodies. The arrears of poor rates on property owned by the Town Council, particularly the public markets, the ownership of the old poorhouse ground and

33b. P.B.M. 10 June, 1859

33c. See p.92, below.

many other issues were settled in court,³⁴ and as they were often settled in the Parochial Board's favour, this did not help to reduce ill feeling. The services of the Councillors on the City Parochial Board could have been better utilised, but the City Board largely ignored this available resource.

The other four nominees came from the combined kirk sessions in the parish and again were an under utilised resource when it came to promoting co-operation between the Kirk and the City Parochial Board. The main dispute between the two authorities revolved around the church door collections, which the kirk sessions retained entirely after 1845, although they could have given half towards the poor fund if they had chosen. The Kirk refused to give any information to the Parochial Board either on the amount collected or to whom it was distributed,^{34a} so paupers were encouraged to try both sources. Many managed to get help from the Parochial Board as well as occasional assistance from a church, and the possibility that this might occur influenced the City Board's routine.

There is no evidence to prove that the receipt of money from the kirk sessions affected the amount of parish relief given, but the City Board made a point of asking every applicant for relief about church affiliation. This did not appear to be a moral issue, although it may have been used to assess respectability, but in addition to asking which religion the applicant professed, each was also asked if he or she was a member or a hearer at a particular church. The former, as communicants, were likely recipients of poor money from the kirk session, but a hearer, or a person who attended

34. See p. 145 below.

34a. This controversy began in September 1845, and continued throughout the period; for example, P.B.M. 10 October, 1862.

a church service but did not belong to the church, was not likely to be helped in this way. The question was asked on the printed schedule which every applicant had to complete, and as it was a persistent feature during the period, it appeared to have great significance for the Parochial Board.

The kirk session nominees were not asked to help in the dispute about church door collections and indeed, their presence on the Parochial Board at all was often criticised by members³⁵ and press.³⁵ Other Parochial Boards had similar complaints, considering the inclusion of kirk representatives an anachronism, particularly when these members were ordained ministers, who paid no poor rates. It was one clause in the Act for which Parochial Boards frequently sought amendment, but it remained unchanged until 1894, when the Parochial Board's successors were an all elected body. The City Board seemed less hostile than many other parishes, perhaps because the kirk session nominees formed only a small part of it. Perhaps the tolerance was also influenced by the fact that the representatives were usually bankers, financiers and lawyers, and only during 1846-1847, was one of the kirk session nominees an ordained minister.³⁶ As legal and financial experts, the nominees were a valuable asset to the Parochial Board, and as they were usually renominated for many consecutive years, helped to contribute towards the stable element which provided continuity of policy and action.

The City Board did not utilise the resources of Town Council or Kirk associations, and the same applied to the available resources

35. P.B.M. 17 April, 1872.

P.L.M. 1893, p.181 printed an article published in the British Medical Journal. See also Scotsman 21 July, 1870.

36. Rev. James Bryce.

from the Board of Supervision. In 1845, the central authority was less experienced than the Parochial Board members, who were virtually the same relief authority as before the Act was passed. After the election in 1846, many members were returned who had previous connections with poor relief management, and the City Board rarely needed to ask the Board of Supervision for advice. Being well provided with legal experts, for example, the City Parochial Board did not need to seek legal opinions from the central authority, and was more likely to contact members of the Faculty of Advocates or the Lord Advocate himself when further opinions were necessary, even though fees had to be paid from the parish poor fund. Indeed at one point,³⁷ the Lord Advocate dissuaded the City Board from levying poor rates on the Board of Supervision premises, and although the Law committee were by no means certain he was right, the Parochial Board refrained from assessing the premises.

The City Board seemed determined to incur as little central intervention as possible, and contact between the two tiers of administration was on much the same lines as between other Parochial Boards and the Board of Supervision, despite the proximity of their offices. Returns were submitted, with varying amounts of information, and complaints lodged against the City Board were dealt with by correspondence through the City inspector, with remarkably little personal contact between the two bodies. When advice was sought by the City Board, it was usually on some issue about which the entire Board was divided. In 1870, for example, the Parochial Board asked if it was legal to give paupers help to emigrate, a

37. P.L.M. 1860-61, p.183.

procedure which it had practised since 1845, although this was not stated in the inquiry. The Board of Supervision said it was an illegal use of the poor fund, so the members who had opposed the scheme had official backing to have it discontinued.

Despite the City Board's reluctance to have too much contact with the Board of Supervision, a certain amount was forced upon it, both through complaints and subsequent investigation, central control of the local inspector and the central inspectorates' visits. Like all other local inspectors, the City inspector of poor required the Board of Supervision's approval to continue in office, and although there were occasions when he was reprimanded, these were rare, and not for offences which warranted his dismissal. The fact that he could be criticised at all seemed to come as a surprise to the City inspector,³⁸ perhaps because, following his employers lead, he tended to consider himself above central Board control in many matters.

When the central inspectorate was established in 1856,³⁹ the City parish had regular visits from the official dealing with poorhouse management, and the Board of Supervision was at last made aware of the defective arrangements. After the new poorhouse was opened in 1870, the Visiting Officer's reports were generally favourable, but suggestions he offered for improving the arrangements were not always adopted by the Parochial Board. He persistently tried to prevent pauper inmates being employed as nurses in the hospital wards for example, but the City Board refused to employ trained nurses for quite some time. Not until the medical relief

38. See chapter 3 below.

39. See p. 35 above.

grant provisions were extended to include part payment towards trained staff did the Parochial Board comply with the suggestions, and its successful opposition demonstrated how even regulations supported by a limited power of audit could be circumvented.

One of the remarkable features in poor law administration during the period, was the number of parishes, both large and small, which were prepared to defy the Board of Supervision, though few were willing to resist to the point of court action. The central authority also preferred to settle matters without threats and tried to achieve local co-operation without force. This diplomatic approach seemed effective, for Parochial Boards were more willing to co-operate and developed a certain amount of respect for the Board of Supervision. When a House of Commons inquiry⁴⁰ was established in 1868 to investigate poor law administration in general and the Board of Supervision in particular, many City Board members were willing to give evidence to defend the central authority. Perhaps it was realised that a large amount of local Board flexibility was allowed, because the central authority tended to operate according to local circumstances quite independently of government control from London. When the Board of Supervision was replaced by the Local Government Board in 1894, national independent action was more controlled, because the President was the Secretary of State for Scotland and local authorities found centralisation very much enforced. The loss of freedom and the strict enforcement of regulations, reinforced by power of audit were very much resented.

The City Board was not intimidated by the Board of Supervision,

40. S.C. Poor Law, 1868-69.

partly because of its status as part of Edinburgh, and partly because the members were influential men themselves. The central Board appeared to treat the City Parochial Board with tact, being careful not to provoke open hostility. Its appeal to the legalities of the rules found an understanding audience amongst the City Board members which was fortunate, because open hostility between the City parish and the Board of Supervision could have seriously affected implementation of the 1845 Act. Mention has already been made⁴¹ of the lack of direct appeal through the services of the Lord Provosts, but there were four Lord Provosts⁴² during the period who were previously members of the Parochial Board, and their attendance at the Board of Supervision meetings seemed more regular than many of their predecessors in office, perhaps because they were interested in poor law administration in general.

Relations between the City Board and the Board of Supervision remained fairly cordial during the period and a similar pattern was established between the local Board and the Board of Lunacy after 1857.⁴³ This new central authority took control of provisions for pauper lunatics, a duty previously undertaken by the Board of Supervision, who obviously resented the loss of control.⁴⁴ Despite disputes at central level, however, the City Parochial Board managed to satisfy the Board of Lunacy's requirements and regularly

41. See p. 32 above.

42. James Falshaw, 1861-63; James Steele, 1878-80; Robert Cranston, 1879-85; Andrew McDonald, 1879-81.

43. 20 and 21. Vic.c.71.

44. B.S.M. 2 August, 1857.

obtained a favourable report from yet another central inspectorate. The City Board did utilise the resources offered by the Board of Lunacy and its inspectors a little more constructively than those of the central poor law authority, largely because "lunacy" became a very complicated definition, on which the City Board required guidance. Supported by its own medical experts and the resources of the asylum at Morningside, the City Board was in a favourable position to fulfil the requirements, however, and had many facilities not readily available to other parishes in Scotland.

On the whole, the City members managed to establish a working harmony between themselves and the two central authorities for poor law and lunacy and neither central Board found it necessary to send either staff or members to attend City Parochial Board meetings. They neither came officially nor it would appear, privately, and yet were within easy reach of the City Board offices.

Such a working harmony, largely based on mutual tolerance did not exist, however, between the City Board and the education authorities after 1872, yet this was one resource which could have benefited both the administration and paupers but was wasted in needless disputes. Part of the trouble arose because of hostile relations between the Board of Supervision and the Board of Education,⁴⁵ who failed to be civil to each other, let alone work together, and this attitude permeated down to local level. There was obviously an overlap between local poor relief authorities and School Boards, further complicated by the rating arrangement already mentioned and Section 69 of the Education Act. Overlap by itself could perhaps

⁴⁵. B.S.M. 20 November, 1873.

have been resolved in much the same way as the Board of Supervision and Board of Lunacy had overcome it, even if the former did mention in every annual report that the expenditure on pauper lunatics was an ever increasing item. The difficulties about school rates and section 69 were far more serious and both required further legislation before being resolved.

The Parochial Board collected the school rate, which had to be kept separate from the poor rate and then handed over to the education authority. The school rate increased each year, was often confused with the poor rate by ratepayers and the City Board resented the association between school and poor rates when the latter were decreasing. Furthermore, no charge could be made for collecting the school rate, and expenses were met from the poor fund. The arrangement was altered in 1879 and the School Board had to pay its share of collection, but the rising school rate still remained an annoyance.

Section 69 of the Education Act was a further irritation. Parents who could not pay school fees without impoverishing themselves, could apply to the Parochial Board for assistance and were frequently encouraged to do so by the School Boards. The City inspector of poor had to investigate all such claims, covering the same ground as the School Board official and this needless repetition was a source of irritation to both claimants and local authorities. The inspector was forbidden to hold office as a School Board official⁴⁶ and refused to take the latter's estimate of a claimant's circumstances. If the claim was found to be valid,

46. B.S.M. 8 May, 1873.

(and the decisions could give rise to disputes between the two authorities), the Parochial Board had to provide clothing, books and fees to non-pauper parents, all of which was an expense on the poor fund, yet did not pauperise the claimants.

The Statutory arrangement pleased no one, and at City Board level, upset the administrative routine, complicated the book-keeping, interfered with the poor law duties of the staff and was constantly criticised by members. As the central authorities had hostile relations, no compromise was suggested and the local School Board did not help the situation by criticising Parochial Board management. The City Board had been very concerned that all pauper children should receive education from 1845, resented interference from a new ad hoc body in 1872 and was very annoyed at any adverse comments. The issue was not resolved until free education was introduced, but in the interval, the dispute resulted in under-utilisation of what Thorburn had previously described as the "superior educational facilities in the city".⁴⁷

As already mentioned,⁴⁸ the City Board utilised the services of the Lord Advocate and later the Secretary of State for Scotland, when it wished government action taken or wanted to oppose bills affecting its interests. This direct approach was used by other parishes and seemed an accepted method of approaching the government, more so than by using the services of Members of Parliament. The City Board had easier access to government officials and also employed a parliamentary agent in London to safeguard its interests.

47. See p. 19 above.

48. See p. 73 above.

It was also quick to send deputations, composed of members and the inspector, to London to lobby Scottish Members or to call on government ministers. All expenses were drawn from the poor fund, not strictly a legal use of parish funds, but one with which the Board of Supervision could not interfere. Its successor was not so tolerant and stopped this use of the poor fund in 1896,⁴⁹ refusing to allow any direct line of approach to be taken. From 1896, local authorities had to make their protest to the Local Government Board, who, if it saw fit, conveyed the petition to the government, a procedure which was resented at local level.

The City Parochial Board not only had the income to spend in direct approach without depleting relief provisions, but was also familiar with the procedure. As part of Edinburgh, it was well aware of sophisticated governmental procedure, the use of its knowledge in these matters being similar to the use made of legal facilities. Other parishes often sought the City Board's support and received donations towards court cases which would establish a principle of law, or were helped to organise conferences, but the City Board support was given only if the matter directly affected its interests. This limited outlook was one way of justifying expenditure from the public fund, but illustrated how even the City parish of Edinburgh regarded itself as a regional rather than a national area.

Finally the City Parochial Board had a resource which was used intermittently and never to the full extent. There were numerous voluntary organisations within the city, but co-operation between voluntary charities and Statutory social services is still an under

49. P.L.M. 1897, p.339.

developed field today. Co-ordination helps both administration and recipient, enabling the most economical use to be made of the vast resources available. The situation was no better in the nineteenth century than it is today, as each voluntary body developed its own system for selected clients. The Parochial Board, as the official relief authority had to provide for all the entitled poor, regardless of creed, race, settlement or character, and could not be as selective as the voluntary organisations. Indeed the Statutory authority had to be careful when refusing help, because it could be criminally liable in cases of neglect. Joint co-operation would have required long term planning, the pooling of resources and change of policy for many of the organisations and this was not administratively possible. The different opinions about poverty, paupers and their treatment made full co-operation impossible, and many resources were wasted.

There were for example, night shelters, homes for girls, institutional care of various kinds - the list was endless in Edinburgh - all of which could have been utilised by the Parochial Board, as special homes for the sick, the unmarried mothers and so forth. Specialisation in institutional care is a familiar part of the social services today, but in nineteenth century Edinburgh, it was not part of normal relief arrangements.

Sometimes voluntary bodies aggravated conditions, imposing an increased strain on the City Board's arrangements, as for example, the "Association for Improving the Conditions of the Poor", after 1868, whose main aim was to "elevate the suffering of the struggling poor".⁵⁰

50. R. Morrison, The Help, (Edinburgh, 1968), p.16.

In addition to providing relief, the Association tried to improve the housing of the poor and provide educational facilities, both of which increased the problems for the Statutory authority. The educational activities in particular, impinged on the Parochial Board's provisions under section 69 of the 1845 Act, and were very much resented. The Association was quick to criticise the relief authority,⁵¹ although initially intended to give full co-operation, but when it became obvious that the Association was overlapping the Parochial Board's provisions, the latter was not willing to co-operate. Furthermore, the Association often demanded that relief amounts should be increased, and asked the Board of Supervision's help⁵² to force the City Board to print lists of paupers at regular intervals. Although agreeing that such lists might be beneficial, the Board of Supervision pointed out that it would be an expensive item, which it could not force the local Board to incur. The central authority also stated that the Parochial Board duties were difficult enough without a charitable organisation increasing the difficulties.⁵³ Relations between the Association and the City Board were never openly hostile, but appeared to be based on mutual civility, with as little contact as possible.

Societies connected with religion were sometimes used by the Parochial Board who bought suitable literature from them to place in the poorhouse. Requests to send Bible readers to the poorhouse were as often refused as they were granted by the Parochial Board,

51. P.L.M. 1873, p.15.

52. B.S.M. 9 December, 1869.

53. R. Morrison, The Help, (Edinburgh, 1968), p.26.

and no reasons were given in the minutes for the decisions.

Perhaps there were too many voluntary organisations within Edinburgh, and the Parochial Board could not be involved with them all.

There were also numerous hospitals and dispensaries within the city, which were used on occasion by the Parochial Board, but in general, the City Board preferred to make its own arrangements, often duplicating existing facilities, and aggravating the shortage of medical staff. The Parochial Board was perhaps justified in resisting the employment of trained nurses in the poorhouse, because as it later discovered, nurses were in short supply, and with so many opportunities in Edinburgh, staff preferred to be involved in general nursing rather than geriatric work in the poorhouse hospital.

Both Statutory and voluntary organisations criticised each other, and certainly, the profusion of relief provisions did encourage imposture amongst recipients, as well as increasing the number of tramps who sought help in Edinburgh. In 1877, the inspector said that the existence of an admirable poorhouse as well as the numerous charities in Edinburgh encouraged persons from all parts of Scotland, but he quickly returned them to their own parishes if they applied for parish help.⁵⁴ Usually criticisms were about efficiency, a point on which the Parochial Board appeared very sensitive, for it obviously judged its administrative success on how effectively the organisation was run, but "effectively" could be interpreted in several ways. In order to achieve any type of organisational efficiency, however, staff had to be competent, and the City Board seemed able to attract the services of many competent men, able to

54. Edinburgh Courant, 3 August, 1877.

translate managerial policy into effective action.



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Chapter 3.

Staff Resources.

Whatever other resources are available in an organisation, efficient staff to translate policy into action in an effective manner is a most important element. This is equally true in industrial and governmental concerns, but is a very necessary feature when policy makers are not permanent members of the organisation and membership changes every year. The staff then become the connecting link, giving a continuity which is essential to the development of a comprehensive service.

The 1845 Act made provisions for this connecting link, for according to section 32, each Parochial Board had to appoint a "fit and qualified person" to be its inspector of poor. Although locally appointed and paid from the parish funds his immediate employers could not dismiss him, this being the prerogative of the Board of Supervision. The inspector held office *ad vitam aut culpam*, but it was the central authority which decided whether any offence necessitated censure or dismissal. It investigated all complaints made before making a decision, but was not required to give any details to either the inspector, or the Parochial Board in question, as to how any decision had been reached. Under certain circumstances, inspectors were allowed to resign instead of being dismissed¹ but it is not clear from the minutes for what offences this was applicable. If an inspector did not agree with the suggestion, however, the Board of Supervision pronounced him unfit to continue in office and refused to permit his appointment as inspector of poor in any other parish.

1. B.S.M. 16 June, 1850.

The inspector was therefore required to serve two masters, both of whom had different ideas about his role, a situation further complicated after 1857² when the Board of Lunacy was created. It could complain to the Board of Supervision about the inspector's performance of duty regarding provisions for pauper lunatics, therefore the local officials had to be conversant with both the requirements of the relevant Acts of Parliament and the regulations issued by the two central authorities. No excuse was allowed that overwork had been the cause of dereliction of duty³ or that the Parochial Board in question had refused to allow its inspector to conform to the requirements,⁴ for in either case the local employee was supposed to inform the Board of Supervision of his difficulties. To be inspector of poor was a difficult task, each man being required to satisfy his Parochial Board, placate both ratepayers and paupers to prevent complaints, yet at the same time fulfil his duties according to the requirements of central authority. It was a position in which conflict could easily be generated, for, in conforming to the Board of Supervision standards, the inspector could disagree with his employers or cause an increase in local rates, for his "efficiency" could be interpreted in many different ways. It was for this reason that the Act gave inspectors security of tenure of office at central level and did not make them dependent upon the Parochial Board's approval. If the latter complained about its inspector, the Board of Supervision had no hesitation in supporting

2. 20 and 21. Vic.c.71.

3. B.S.M. 5 May, 1870.

4. See p. 111 below.

the official if the allegations were found to be groundless,⁵ but its refusal to dismiss an inspector under these circumstances could place him in an awkward position and some men preferred to resign rather than try to cope with the intolerable situation. The arrangements regarding the office of inspector, however, made him the connecting link in local administration and also the point of contact between the two tiers. Both local and central Boards had different concepts of his role and criticised his activities, but from the official's point of view, the Board of Supervision's was the more important because it could deprive him of his job.

The idea of an inspectorate was not new in 1845, for it already operated in Customs and Excise, and in mines and factories for example, but the inspector of poor had a slightly different duty. His primary task was to protect the administration, to investigate claimants for relief and protect the poor fund from misuse. It was not part of his duty to protect the rights of the poor, to seek out likely persons in need of help and inform them of their rights. He worked for the administration to ensure that only the entitled received public help and this aspect of his duty was not always appreciated. Charitable organisations and social reformers, aware of the duties of factory inspectors in protecting operatives for instance, often criticised the inspector of poor, accusing him of harshly oppressing the poor.⁶ These critics failed to realise that the inspector was legally required to prevent imposture and in order to do this, he had to investigate all applicants.

5. B.S.M. 30 December, 1858.

6. P.L.M. 1860-61, p.191.

An efficient inspector could be a man who safeguarded the parish fund, yet made sure that all the entitled poor received adequate relief, or a man who by closely investigating every claim, reduced the numbers of paupers on the parish roll thereby helping to keep down the poor rates.

The 1845 Act stated that a "fit and qualified person" should be appointed, but gave no further explanation of either term and several interpretations were possible. "Fit" may have referred to suitability although before this could be judged a Parochial Board would need a clear idea of what it required from its employee. On the other hand, the tenement conditions in Edinburgh necessitated the appointment of a man who was both physically fit to visit and investigate paupers and was suitable, in so far that the squalid conditions would not deter him; he would require a strong devotion to duty to conscientiously fulfil his role. "Qualified" was also ambiguous, but as there were no training schemes for inspectors it could not mean documentary evidence of their capabilities and perhaps merely meant having the necessary ability to perform his duties. As will be seen from the appendix,⁷ these were very onerous and included many requirements under social legislation passed after 1845 which were not specifically involved with poor relief.

He received all accounts from registrars in his parish after 1854,⁸ enforced vaccination after 1855,⁹ dealt with lunatics under

7. See appendix A below.

8. 17 and 18. Vic.c.71.

9. 26 and 27. Vic.c.80.

the various Acts after 1857,¹⁰ signed pensions forms and posted notices under the Militia Act,¹¹ inspected lodging houses under Public Health Act¹² to name but a few of his duties. Even the Pawnbroker Act¹³ required the inspector to check persons applying to magistrates for licences to trade; yet none of these extra duties carried a Statutory salary. It is with the inspector's poor law duties, however, that this thesis is concerned but all the additional burdens reduced the amount of time he could devote to his main task.

As inspector of poor he was required to have a generic approach with no division of responsibility or specialisation with which we are familiar. To fulfil his tasks he required the ability of a clerk, a book-keeper, a manager of staff, an accountant, (for both local and central returns) as well as being a social worker of no mean ability. Yet according to a House of Commons' return in 1881,¹⁴ few inspectors were full time and their salaries ranged from £5 to £700 a year, a variation which indicated the different interpretations placed upon the position of inspector by Parochial Boards. Whether regarded as full or part time, all inspectors had to fulfil their numerous duties but the lengthy list¹⁵ raises doubts about how "part time" many of the inspectors were.

10. 20 and 21. Vic.c.71; 25 and 26. Vic.c.54; 29 and 30. Vic.c.51.

11. 17 and 18. Vic.c.106.

12. 30 and 31. Vic.c.101.

13. 35 and 36. Vic.c.93.

14. P.P. Accounts, 1881, vol.1.242.

15. See Appendix A below.

A capable inspector was essential to both levels of administration. As the executive officer of a Parochial Board whose members held office for one year at a time, the inspector had to be able to guide his employees.¹⁵ As was stated in their official magazine¹⁶ in 1880; "No-one outside the profession can adequately know the extent to which the affairs of a Parochial Board are in the hands of an inspector, or can form an idea to which an inefficient officer can injure his Board, financially or otherwise through his incompetency or neglect in relieving undeserving persons, or failing to fix the settlements against other parishes, in consequence of want of proper inquiry and investigation".¹⁷ Even though the magazine was biased in the inspector's favour, being largely written for and by the officials, this statement was very illuminating, showing the priorities upon which inspectors operated, and those which their employers obviously regarded as important features of relief administration. In addition to their duties at local level, however, inspectors were required to submit numerous returns to the Board of Supervision,¹⁸ the information thus collected being used to compile the annual reports to Parliament. With no power of audit, the central authority could not check the statistics submitted and inspectors on the lower salaries were unlikely to devote much time and care to completing these returns.

In its third annual report in 1847,¹⁹ the Board of Supervision mentioned that the majority of inspectors were efficient, a statement

16. Poor Law Magazine, published monthly from 1859.

17. P.L.M. 1880, p.4.

18. See p. 105 below.

19. B.S.A.R. 1847-48.

List of Returns required annually by the Board of
Supervision for years 1859 - 1869

<u>POOR LAW ACT</u>	<u>Date issued each year</u>
1. Annual Return	1st May. Tabulated and included in each annual report.
2. Medical Relief Grant claim	1st May. (is audited)
3. Medical Relief Grant certificate	31st July.
4. Poorhouse building debt	1st May.
5. Poorhouse returns	a) 15th June. b) 15th December.
6. Casual poor return	a) 15th June. b) 15th December.
7. Applications accepted by sheriff	15th June.
8. Return of elected members	Election day.

VACCINATION ACT

1. Vaccination returns	a) 15th June. b) 15th December.
2. List of defaulters	a) 15th June. b) 15th December.

PUBLIC HEALTH ACT

Return of all receipts and expenditure	1st May.
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ANY SPECIAL RETURNS

e.g. 1862: return on population for House of Commons.

Between 1860-69, there were 28 special returns.

not supported by any other evidence except that few complaints had been received and all the required returns had been submitted.

How accurate this information was, is open to question, despite the importance the central authority placed upon prompt submission of the returns, and by the fact that it was prepared to dismiss inspectors who repeatedly omitted to supply the information.²⁰

Even the Poor Law Magazine stated that inspectors did not always send in accurate data,²¹ yet it was used by the Board of Supervision to calculate the incidence of pauperism and the expenditure incurred on poor relief in Scotland each year; it could also be used as a measure of local administrative efficiency.

Obviously it was in a Parochial Board's interest to submit information which illustrated that pauperism was under control in its area, and one method of achieving this was to show a reduction in the number of registered poor. The Board of Supervision annual return had columns for both registered and casual paupers,²² but as it gave little indication of what either term meant, inspectors were often confused. As the incidence of pauperism was calculated from the number of permanent poor, however, a reduction was an indication that paupers were under control in a parish because of efficient administration. As the executive officer in charge of poor law affairs in his parish, the inspector also wished to submit favourable figures as an indication of his "economical ways".²³ Perhaps if

20. B.S.M. 26 July, 1849.

21. P.L.M. 1875, p.401.

22. See Section II below.

23. P.L.M. 1859-60, p.413.

the Board of Supervision had not placed such emphasis on the returns, implying in its annual report that a decrease in pauperism was commendable, more accurate statements would have been submitted. Parochial Boards realised the implications of these returns and the City Board required its inspector to submit, for prior approval, any statement to the Board of Supervision. Any items with which it did not agree were remitted for "adjustment" by the inspector, although it was not clear from the Parochial Board minutes how this was to be accomplished.

In 1845, local inspectors could not appeal to anyone for advice and guidance on many of the matters with which they were required to deal. The Board of Supervision only gave advice if the inquiry was felt to be within its jurisdiction, so questions about entitlement to relief for instance, were problems to be resolved at local level. The Parochial Boards were inexperienced as far as the new requirements were concerned, so the majority of inspectors relied on their own abilities and personal interpretations of their duties. As an article in their magazine stated in 1865; "Twenty years ago, all inspectors were qualified the same; they knew nothing",²⁴ so each man acted in what he considered was the most appropriate manner or the one most likely to find favour with both local and central administration. It was no wonder they felt in need of support and to this end formed a Society of Inspectors in 1856, which began in Edinburgh but quickly developed branches throughout Scotland. Its main aim was to increase amicable relations between inspectors and was an effort to diminish the hostility generated by the law of settlement when Parochial Boards refused to co-operate to establish liability for paupers.

24. P.L.M. 1865, p.320.

Problems were discussed at Society meetings and opinions given between colleagues, often prevented future legal action between Parochial Boards. Personal contact and communication between inspectors of poor was invaluable in administration, a point appreciated by the City Parochial Board, which paid its inspector's subscription to the Society. When the Society published the Poor Law Magazine after 1859 this became a "blue print" for administration, because, apart from the articles discussing every aspect of poor law affairs, relevant court decisions were reported for the benefit of inspectors.

The interpretation of an inspectors role by a Parochial Board influenced its decision when making the appointment. The person appointed often reflected the members ideas of their duties as poor law administrators and the aspects they considered most important. In 1845 the City Parochial Board appointed the ex-treasurer from the Charity workhouse, ^{24a} partly because he was already known to the members, for until 1846, the Parochial Board was the Town Council. The members considered the inspector's main duties would concern finance, so George Small was placed in charge of all relevant matters. The Parochial Board failed to appreciate the full requirements of the new Act however, for in addition to Small, it also appointed John Hay, a previous recorder for the Calton burial ground, who was made responsible for all correspondence and relief provisions. Each man was given £160 a year, and both were known as the inspector of poor, although this division of responsibility was not permitted by the Board of Supervision. The Act referred to 'an inspector', a phrase interpreted by the central authority as 'one inspector in charge', but it was unaware of the dual control in the City parish,

so Small and Hay continued to divide their duties between them, assisted by numerous clerks. Two assistant inspectors were also appointed to deal with the investigation of claims and the Statutory duties of visiting paupers, while arrangements within the poorhouse were assigned to the governor, Robert Smith.

The choice of Small as an inspector proved unwise, because his experiences with the Charity workhouse books proved inadequate for dealing with an average income of £20,000 collected by the Parochial Board. By 1847, there was a deficit in the accounts of over £400,^{24b} not due to any deliberate embezzlement, but simply because the task was beyond Small's capabilities. The complicated book-keeping procedure, introduced by merchant and Town Council members of the Parochial Board had not facilitated his task, and he was not provided with the services of a book-keeper. The discovery of the deficit was an embarrassment, and although the Parochial Board had insisted that Small gave security for his intrusions when first appointed, the bond had never been properly executed, so it could not reclaim from the inspectors cautioners. Despite this, Small was allowed to retire with no word of the deficit reaching the Board of Supervision, which would have investigated, but exactly how the loss was accounted for in the books, was not intimated. The City Board even gave Small a pension of £100 a year, which he continued to draw until his death in 1861, though this did appear in its accounts as "annuity".²⁵

There was no provision in the 1845 Act for superannuation of inspectors, and although the Board of Supervision and the Society

24b. P.B.M. 10 March, 1847. This issue was not finally settled until 23 November, 1848.

25. See appendix D, below.

of Inspectors tried to have the omission rectified, the government did not pass the necessary legislation. As inspectors were appointed for life, the omission of a pension scheme meant that many remained in office until their death, often being unable to cope with the increased responsibility in later years. A Parochial Board could either ask the Board of Supervision to dismiss its inspector as being no longer capable of fulfilling his duties, or could employ a younger man to assist him. To award a pension as an encouragement for the inspector to retire was of doubtful legality, but an issue which the central authority could not dispute, and it was an action which the Board of Supervision did not consider unreasonable. The City Board's action regarding Small, however, would probably not have been approved, but as the Board of Supervision was seemingly unaware of the whole affair, no intervention occurred. If the City parish citizens were aware of the Parochial Board's decision, they seemed willing to permit it, as no ratepayer voiced any objections to the yearly payment.

When Small retired in 1847, John Hay was promoted to inspector in charge, but this proved to be an appointment in name only. Each committee had been allowed to develop on independent lines, appointing its own staff and the Parochial Board did not take overall control. Preoccupied with finance and legal duties, the City Board had allowed the two committees concerned to establish a law and a finance department, and duties concerning paupers were a secondary consideration. Hay was placed in charge of the finance (or treasurer's department as it was known), but his legal duties were assigned to a law clerk over whom the inspector had no control. The Board of Supervision were unaware of the arrangement until 1856, when it received

complaints²⁶ about the law clerk's dictatorial attitude and lack of courtesy to inspectors of other parishes.

The dual responsibility became apparent during the subsequent investigations, and the central authority insisted that Hay should be made solely responsible for all poor law affairs including the actions of subordinates. Hay pointed out to the Board of Supervision that his employers refused to give him clear control, nor had he any voice in the appointment or directing of staff, but the central authority reiterated its demand that the administration must be reorganised. Internal disputes increased, as the Law committee was reluctant to relinquish command of its department and the Finance committee wanted Hay to be placed in control. Finally the City Board, realising the adverse effects of further internal controversy, made some attempt to reorganise, a process which was accelerated when the Board of Supervision threatened legal proceedings unless the administration was properly co-ordinated with the inspector in sole charge. The Parochial Board admonished the law clerk, apologised to the central authority and tried to meet the requirements, but its attempts were frustrated because the intolerable situation had undermined Hay's health, and he was frequently absent from duty until his death in 1859.

At this point the Parochial Board took the opportunity to co-ordinate its administration, not only by reorganising the staff, but also by making all committees directly responsible to the full Board. During the past few years, the City Board members had reinterpreted their role as administrators of poor relief and, as will be

26. B.S.M. 20 November, 1856.

shown,²⁷ had placed increasing emphasis on the need to supervise paupers. The Parochial Board required therefore, an inspector who would co-ordinate the administration, control all the staff and supervise relief provisions, all of which was beyond the capabilities of a clerk. From the twenty-eight applicants for the post, George Greig,²⁸ an experienced inspector from the adjoining parish of St. Cuthbert's was chosen, and, with a salary of £400 a year, was expected to take sole charge of all poor law affairs in the parish. The Parochial Board hoped that this action "would prevent them being exposed to questions regarding their activities and deviation from the requirements of the Statute, by the Board of Supervision,"²⁹ a hope which was later fulfilled.

The main problem facing Greig on his appointment was the need for co-ordinate the committees, the existing staff, and the Parochial Board, into a working unit. Prior to 1859, sectional development was not confined to the Law and Finance committees, although these two were considered the most important. The other three committees all had their own staff, and although the Parochial Board assumed that its organisation operated on the lines indicated on Chart I,³⁰ in reality, Chart II³¹ was the administrative organisation, in which effective communication did not exist. Internal conflict between committees, and between individual employees, could easily be generated

27. See Section II below.

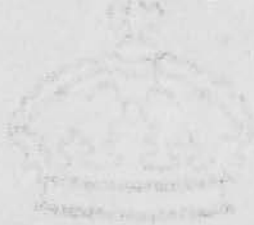
28. See photograph p. 113 below.

29. P.B.M. 4 April, 1859.

30. See p. 114 below.

31. See p. 115 below.

Enlarged photographic copy of George Greig,
Inspector of poor in the City parish of Edinburgh
1859-1894. Poor Law Magazine 1905, p.508.



Eden Grove
Bond

TUB SIZED

15



THE LATE GEORGE GREIG, ESQ.,
Inspector of Poor of the Old City Parish of Edinburgh.

Chapter 3.Chart 1.

↑→ information in either direction.
 ↓ information downwards.
 ↑ information upwards.

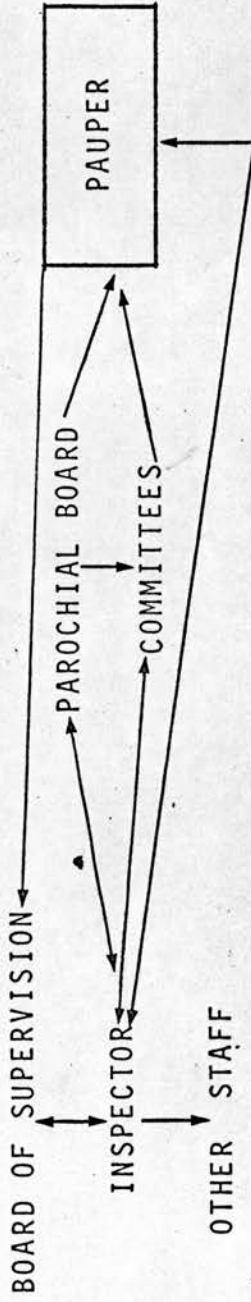
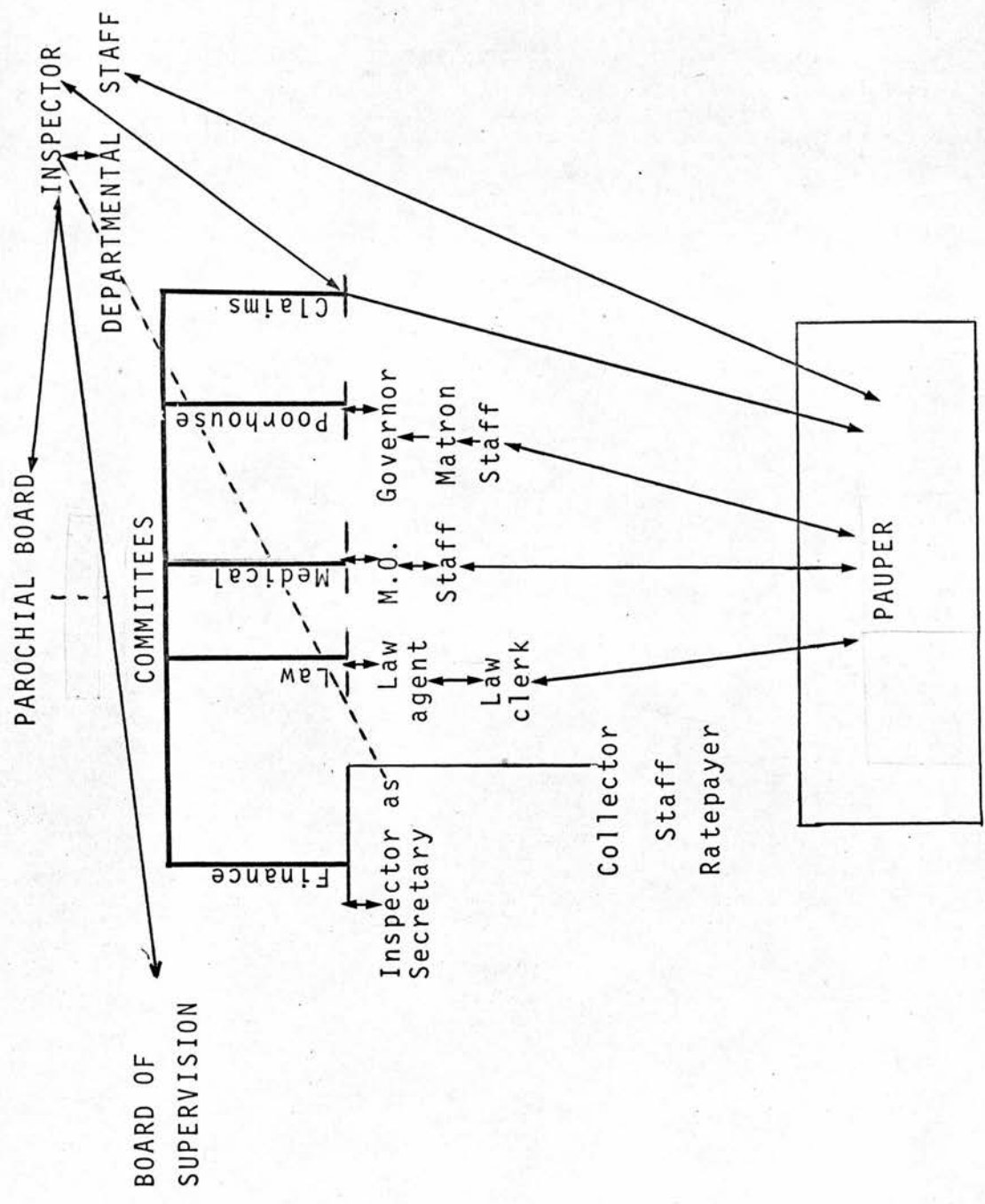


Chart 2



to the disadvantage of the administration, but it was difficult for the new inspector to organise a more co-ordinated system when there were so many 'heads of departments'.

The Finance committee presented no problem, because the inspector had previously been in charge of this department, dividing the duties between himself and the collector of poor rates. The latter had an office within the parish, from which he and his clerks dealt with matters relating to the assessment of property, the collection of, and pointing for rates, with any claim for rates exemption being dealt with by the Finance committee. The inspector was also in close contact with the Claims committee which dealt with applications for relief.

Prior to 1859, these applications were received by the inspector, who delegated investigations to his two assistants, but there had been a frequent change in the junior staff either due to premature deaths from infectious disease, or the resignation of assistants who found the work too arduous or uncongenial. Thomas Thorburn³² for example, an assistant inspector from 1847, preferred to devote his time to summation of the various registers, so it was no surprise when he left in 1851 to become enumerator for the census. Greig insisted that the outdoor staff should be increased, both to cover the extra duties imposed under various legislations, and to give more supervised relief to paupers, a policy the Parochial Board began to emphasise. He also insisted that salaries were increased, partly because the staff required additional incentive to carry out their duties, but Greig also wanted to retain the services of any experienced

32. See p. 19 above.

men in the employment of the Parochial Board. As a safeguard against future shortage of trained staff, Greig introduced a career structure into the office, whereby clerks received in-training with subsequent promotion to the post of assistant inspector. Greig was also consulted about any future appointments because he insisted that he could not otherwise be responsible for employees, and was thus able to obtain the services of those whom he thought most suitable for the posts.

The inspector was therefore able to delegate duties to his subordinates with confidence, although unable to transfer actual responsibility, and only on one occasion did his judgement appear to be misplaced. In 1879, the Board of Supervision investigated complaints that the assistant inspectors in the City parish were paying relief allowances to third parties, instead of paying paupers direct.³³ The accusations did not relate to City paupers, but those with settlements elsewhere and for whom the City Parochial Board received repayment for any relief given. Some parishes complained that they had received notices of repayment for paupers who had died or left the City parish, an allegation found to be valid, although Greig tried to deny it at first, being unwilling to admit that any of his staff were not properly fulfilling their duties. Once he was convinced that the complaints were true, however, new arrangements were quickly made, but the incident indicated how difficult it was for one man to control all the staff in a large urban parish, and perhaps Greig had become rather lax in supervising his subordinates.

The in-training scheme proved to be very advantageous, not only

33. Edinburgh Courant, 18 March, 1879.

in supplying the City parish with trained men in future years, but also by introducing a certain amount of uniformity into poor relief administration elsewhere. Some of the trained men left the City parish to take up other senior appointments and they adapted techniques used in Edinburgh to the requirements of other Parochial Boards. The improvement in the status of the inspectors which had begun with the formation of their Society in 1856, was furthered by this in-training and the supply of experienced men. Greig played a prominent part in the Society and in the publication of its magazine, earning a reputation as an authority on poor law affairs. The examination system for inspectors which later developed, was based on the training scheme in the City Parochial Board offices, and the professional qualification issued by the Society was still in use in 1948, as the copy in the appendix³⁴ illustrates.

Once a co-ordinated procedure had been introduced through the networks linking the Finance and Claims committees, Greig turned his attention to the more difficult problems of law, medical aid and poorhouse management. The Parochial Board solved the difficulties in the law department however, for shortly after Greig's appointment, it discontinued the separate department and offered the law clerk promotion to law agent, being well aware before he could accept that he would require two years training in a lawyers office. He accepted with reluctance and by the time he returned in 1861, Greig was in full control of all aspects of poor relief management, and no one employee was ever again able to disrupt the organisation. Having had previous training in a law office, Greig was able to deal

34. See appendix B below.

with all legal affairs, advised and directed by the experienced members. The Medical Relief committee and staff posed a different kind of problem however, because medical men refused to be subordinate to a lay inspector. There were both outdoor medical officers and a resident physician in the poorhouse to provide attention to all paupers suffering from physical or mental illness. With the increase of medical knowledge and rising status of the medical profession, staff frequently changed, although the chief medical adviser tended to be more permanent. Greig delegated all medical arrangements to this senior official, an arrangement which was mutually agreeable, and as the inspector henceforth attended all meetings of the Medical Relief committee, he was conversant with any future appointments or decisions.

The resident physician had contact with both the Medical and Poorhouse committees and the latter posed a very difficult problem in the course of the integrating process. Unlike previous inspectors, the governor of the poorhouse was always an experienced man in the City parish, and was given complete authority in the institution. From 1846, Robert Smith held office, although his previous association with the prison service was not ideally applicable to a poorhouse. He managed affairs to the satisfaction of the Poorhouse committee, however, until he retired in 1857, and was replaced by Daniel Kemp, the governor from Wrexham Union workhouse. Stricter supervision of inmates was intended by the Parochial Board in selecting Kemp, but as will be shown,³⁵ this could not be fully implemented. However, as part of the change

35. See Section II below.

in policy, Kemp attended meetings of both the Poorhouse and Claims committee and established a network which Greig was able to develop.

Greig continued to deal with applications for relief and the outdoor recipients, leaving Kemp in charge of all inmates, and the governor was therefore able to establish a working arrangement between himself, the matron and the resident physician, leaving the latter in charge of the hospital section with the matron dividing her time between the needs of the ordinary inmates and nursing duties to the sick. As Greig attended all committee meetings as well as those of the Parochial Board, he was fully aware of all arrangements made within the organisation.

The inspector moved cautiously at first in introducing the new system, gaining the co-operation of various officials and being helped by the Parochial Board's desire to have an integrated procedure. The new arrangements did not suit all the staff, but those who left were replaced by employees of whom Greig approved, and as each man was appointed the Parochial Board made it quite clear that the inspector was in sole charge. The members quickly realised the advantages of having a co-ordinated administration with communication between all sections, and future changes in staff presented few problems. In 1884, for example, Kemp retired, to be replaced by William Bennet, a man used to exerting authority in his previous post as governor of Paisley poorhouse. There was an initial clash between the two men, the governor demanding more authority than Greig would permit. With the co-operation of the Parochial Board however, the matter was quickly resolved and previous arrangements were resumed. The organisation operated as outlined in Chart III,³⁶ a more systematic procedure than had previously been

36. See p. 121 below.

possible in the City parish.

All this organisation appears quite logical today, but it was a new technique in the nineteenth century which developed gradually, and had to be recognised as beneficial before being retained or extended. The Parochial Board was in favour of the system because it helped increase administrative efficiency, reduced internal friction which had provoked central intervention, and also shortened the length of time required at meetings. The Board of Supervision appeared to approve of the arrangements, and although defects were reported in the poorhouse management in the 1860's,³⁷ these were more easily amended because of the integrated administration. When Greig applied for another post in the prison service in 1873, the City Board hastened to increase his salary, as well as providing him with free accommodation in one of the cottages on the new poorhouse estate. When he retired in 1894, he was given a pension of £500 a year as a token of the City Board's appreciation, and continued to draw his reward until his death in 1904. By 1874, the City inspector had a staff of over forty full time subordinates and the position had grown beyond the concept of a clerical appointment thought quite adequate in 1845. It was a position of great power and authority, because Greig was virtually the head of an 'establishment', with little personal contact with paupers, and he regarded himself as an administrator rather than an executive officer. The 'connecting link' had in many ways become the lynch pin of the organisation.

The possibility that the post of inspector could develop in this way had not gone unnoticed by the Board of Supervision, who issued

37. See Section II below.

a circular in 1879, reminding inspectors that they were employees of the Parochial Boards and "there must be no attempt to reverse the normal role between master and servant".³⁸ It was obvious in the City parish that the members relied heavily on their inspector, but as most of the managers were competent men themselves, Greig was not allowed to rule unopposed. He treated the Parochial Board members with respect and courtesy, obeying instructions and did not appear to require any reminder of his role. The post of inspector of poor in the City parish of Edinburgh had developed into a senior position for any ambitious inspector in Scotland, and the terms 'fit and qualified' could be applied with meaning after 1859.

It will be seen from the above remarks that the City parish did not attempt to appoint a woman inspector. The Board of Supervision did not permit this, although it was not a restriction mentioned in the 1845 Act. Only two Parochial Boards in the north of Scotland did try to employ women as inspector of poor, but were refused central authority sanction. It considered women 'unfit' to cope with tramps, drunks, lunatics and the visiting duties during inclement weather,³⁹ but there was one valid argument why women could not be appointed which the Board of Supervision did not use. The inspector was required to represent his Parochial Board in all court actions, which women could not have undertaken in the nineteenth century, and perhaps the amount of litigation in the City parish prevented the Parochial Board from ever considering a woman as inspector.

Organisational unity was an administrative advantage which was

38. B.S.M. 3 November, 1879.

39. B.S.M. 21 February, 1871; 15 September, 1881.

achieved in the City parish through the combined efforts of the Parochial Board members, and the competent staff eventually employed. It would not have been possible, however much desired, unless the City Board had financial resources to support its policy. The availability of finance and the ability to utilise this resource was one aspect of poor relief administration with which the City Board was well endowed, but it is one feature about which the records are not very comprehensive.



Eden Grove

Board

THE CITY

Chapter 4.Financial Resources

The 1845 Act did not compel parishes to levy rates, but as it was the intention of the legislature that relief conditions would improve, it was obvious that parish income would need to increase. Improved standards of care introduced by the Board of Supervision accentuated the need for increased income, and as more people applied for the relief to which many were now entitled, the yearly expenditure on poor relief rose in every parish. Critics of the Poor Law regarded the increased expenditure as evidence that Statutory help encouraged pauperism,¹ more people applying for relief simply because it was available to them, instead of being self-reliant. That more people would need assistance as economic changes affected the lives of the potential poor was not fully appreciated, and in general, the public did not realise that independence was only possible if work was available or income was adequate for basic needs. The increased numbers of applicants was not the only reason why poor law expenditure increased, however, because any rise in prices or increase in administrative staff also affected parish finances.

The City Parochial Board income was mainly derived from poor rates levied each year, but could be augmented from several other sources. The renting or sale of any property owned by the City Board, legacies or donations, and the share of any government grant were all additions to the income collected by assessment, but were supplementary to the poor rates, and quite insufficient by themselves

1. P.L.M. 1859-60, p.103.

to provide regular relief to the entitled poor. As there were large numbers of paupers in the City parish, finance was an important part of the Parochial Board's administration and a committee was appointed each year to take charge of this aspect. There was no lack of willing members to serve on the Finance committee since it was regarded as a most important field, offering both influence and status. Merchants predominated as members, trying to use their financial knowledge and business techniques to organise the Parochial Board's accounts, but commercial routine was not entirely suitable for poor relief administration.

In the first place, Parochial Board expenditure had to be over estimated each year, so that any emergencies which might arise could be met during the current financial year. The City Board was the trustee of the poor fund for one year at a time, and any deficit incurred would require a full explanation to the incoming members. For expenditure to exceed income was evidence of incompetence or misuse of public money, neither of these allegations being acceptable to the business men or Town Councillor members of the Parochial Board. If members wished to be re-elected, a satisfactory balance was essential unless they were prepared to countenance criticism from either ratepayers or colleagues about rising poor rates.

Secondly, commercial undertakings were profit making concerns and many businesses produced a yearly balance sheet, or undertook future commitments on the strength of each year's profit. The Parochial Board was not a profit making concern, nor was it required by law to produce a yearly balance sheet, or even have the accounts audited. The Board of Supervision often suggested to Parochial Boards that a regular internal audit was a necessary safeguard to prevent

extravagance, or even embezzling by the staff, but the local Boards were slow to appreciate the advantages, although the City Board did employ an accountant from 1845, to whom it paid a yearly retainer.

There are three sources of information available for the City Parochial Board finances, none of which are comprehensive, but when studied together give some idea of how the City parish finances were managed. The first source is the Board of Supervision annual reports, which contained voluminous tables in each appendix, showing every Parochial Board's income and expenditure, and statistics regarding recipients, all submitted by local inspectors. Until 1868, the financial data was compiled under the headings indicated on the following page,² after which date they were altered in an effort to present more detail. By 1894, further changes had been made by the central Board, making the return very complicated;³ it was a task for a qualified accountant, not an overworked inspector of poor.

The headings shown on the example⁴ appeared simple, but frequent comments in the Poor Law Magazine⁵ and in the City Board minutes, indicated that not all inspectors or Parochial Boards calculated the returns in the same way. The lack of a uniform system regarding any of the data submitted to the Board of Supervision made it difficult for a Parochial Board to compare its finances - or the pauper population - with those of another parish. It was mentioned in an annual report of the Board of Supervision, by M'Neill, the

2. See p. 128 below.

3. See appendix C below.

4. See p. 128 below.

5. P.L.M. 1859-60, p.616.

BOARD OF SUPERVISION HEADINGS INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

Money received from Assessment	From Voluntary Contributions	From Mortifications and other sources	TOTAL	On relief of poor on the Roll	On relief of casual poor	Medical Relief	Management	Law Expenses	TOTAL
£18,039.19s.8d.	-	£3,080.14s.10 ³ / ₄ d.	£21,120.14s.6 ³ / ₄ d.	£13,676.5s.2d.	£1,449.16s.9 ¹ / ₂ d.	£546.13s.3 ¹ / ₄ d.	£3,295.3s.6 ³ / ₄ d.	£914.14s.7d.	£19,882.13s.4 ¹ / ₂ d.
<p>Example: information as calculated for the return, year ending May, 1853.</p>									

chairman, that the returns were more accurate after 1854,⁶ yet in 1883 the central authority was still remarking about the inaccuracies.⁷ With no power of audit, the Board of Supervision could not check the information supplied, and although it frequently referred to this lack of power, suggesting in the annual reports that it should be granted, the government did not comply with the request. In the various bills introduced in subsequent years to amend certain sections of the 1845 Act, power of audit was usually included. These were never passed, however, and many Parochial Boards, the City Board included, successfully petitioned against the clause referring to central audit, which they considered an intrusion into local affairs and unwelcome centralisation.⁸

The Board of Supervision did have auditing powers regarding the medical relief grant after 1848, the lunacy grant from 1875, and the local taxation returns after 1882, because, before any part of the grants was awarded, Parochial Boards had to submit vouchers for expenditure incurred. Not all parishes participated in the grants however, the decision being left to each Parochial Board, and those who did, discovered that government financial assistance brought increased central intervention into local affairs. The numerous regulations regarding the provisions for physically and mentally ill paupers had to be fulfilled before any share of the grant was awarded, but with no overall audit, the Board of Supervision could not be sure that the vouchers submitted referred to the appropriate aspect

6. B.S.A.R. 1860-61.

7. P.L.M. 1883, p.513.

8. P.L.M. 1876, p.230.

of expenditure.

In the City parish for example, alcohol was commonly used in medical treatment, but it was ordered by the Poorhouse committee, not all of the purchases being used in the hospital section of the institution or in the treatment of the outdoor recipients. The Board of Supervision had no means of checking if all the vouchers submitted for audit referred to medical supplies, yet the medical relief grant was apportioned according to a fixed scale. A larger share was given for amounts incurred above a minimum expenditure figure laid down by the Board of Supervision,⁹ so it was possible to obtain additional amounts of the grant by inflating the items said to refer to medical costs.

The lunacy grant, given under different regulations, was also a proportion of the expenses incurred, but the Board of Supervision checked the vouchers, not the Board of Lunacy, and it was the latter central authority which laid down the regulations. The medical profession were not in complete agreement about the differential diagnosis of mental illness and the frequently changing definition of the term 'lunacy' made it difficult for any Parochial Board to decide where to apportion the costs on pauper lunatics. The removal of 'dangerous lunatics' for example, a term which itself was open to many interpretations, required the services of the Procurator Fiscal, so could be regarded as a charge placed in the litigation, management or medical column. Shares from the taxation return grant, which was a government contribution towards expenditure incurred under various legislation,¹⁰ was a further difficulty,

9. B.S.M. 2 February, 1848.

10. eg. Registration Acts, Burial Ground Acts, Valuation Acts, Education Acts.

because it was not confined to the Parochial Board's administrative responsibilities. In the City parish for example, the Parochial Board and the Town Council had overlapping responsibilities, and both received a share of the grant. The Board of Supervision powers of audit concerning these three grants was therefore incomplete, and it was not until 1894 that the Local Government Board was given full powers of audit, and official auditors appointed.

The information published each year by the Board of Supervision in the official report was often used as evidence that poor relief had improved since 1845, or that relief provisions were too generous and incurred unnecessary expenditure. Various writers could apply the statistics to support their arguments; but not all pointed out that the information was only a Parochial Board's estimate of parish affairs, not officially checked, differently calculated and perhaps erroneous.¹¹ Parochial Boards could divulge as little information as they chose to the central authority, but as the returns were regarded as a measure of efficiency, they were likely to be presented in a favourable manner.

The second source of information about the City Parochial Board finances, is the abstract of accounts. These were not published every year, nor are any available after 1863, and they appear to have been printed for members information only, not for general circulation. Furthermore, until 1858 they were printed by the inmates in the poorhouse and as will be obvious from the document in the appendix,¹² suffered from the lack of expert workmanship.

11. P.L.M. 1859-60, p.413.

12. See appendix D and E below.

No two abstracts followed the same pattern, because the book-keeping system was frequently altered, making comparison between the statements very difficult. Small, the inspector in charge of finance from 1845, found the book-keeping methods difficult to operate, with the result that a deficit occurred in the accounts.¹³ Many members also complained to the Finance committee that they could not understand the system, but the frequent changes did nothing to simplify the procedure. The accountant employed by the Parochial Board was expected to check the books each year, but as they were often submitted to him with instructions to alter any items he thought necessary, the employment of a qualified accountant was no guarantee that the abstracts were comprehensive. The summations were correct, but the method of calculation was the duty of the inspector, working with the Finance committee.

In 1854, the accountant complained "of apparent discrepancies in the poorhouse books and it is not a good thing to have inaccuracies". He also added that the law expenses were difficult to follow, because the inspector did not know how to enter items from previous years. The Finance committee decided that in future the printed accounts should be the same as the books and if any items were going to be "crossed out", a new set of books should be purchased.¹⁴ In 1880, when the City Parochial Board accountant was asked to comment to the Board of Supervision about auditing methods in general, he stated that although the Parochial Board's financial system was very complete, he had no way of checking statistics for the number of

13. See p. 109 above.

14. P.B.M. 5 October, 1854.

paupers in the City parish;¹⁵ yet one of the calculations concerned the average cost for each pauper.

The accountant often remarked to the City Board that the systems were very complex, and perhaps the difficulties were appreciated by members, influencing their decision to award Small a pension when he decided to resign. The complexities do not make it easy to assess the financial situation each year in the City parish, and the only point which can be made with any accuracy is that yearly expenditure did not exceed the yearly income. As each Parochial Board concluded its term of office, the books 'balanced', for the outgoing members did not leave any unexplained debts. They only ones incurred were loans on capital expenditure and these were properly arranged.

The abstract of accounts for 1854, reproduced in the appendix,¹⁶ is taken from the minutes and the return to be submitted to the Board of Supervision was not always included in the finally printed version. The example gives some idea of one system of book-keeping and how the return for the central Board was calculated in 1854, for the Parochial Board accounts. The inspector was required to submit any similar return for the approval of the City Board before sending the completed statement to the Board of Supervision. Only on one occasion did he omit to comply with this regulation, sending in the amount incurred on litigation expenses in 1852, without prior knowledge of the Parochial Board.¹⁷ The amount for £1203.10s.10d.

15. P.L.M. 1880, p.593.

16. See appendix D below.

17. P.B.M. 4 February, 1853.

had caused comment amongst the Parochial Board members, so the inspector was instructed to submit all statements in future, some of which were referred back for 'further adjustment'. As will be seen from the appendix,¹⁸ the Parochial Board system was quite different from the headings used by the Board of Supervision, and it was difficult for the inspector to decide which items should be included under the various headings. Litigation expenses for example, could be included under management expenses, because it was not clear if warrants to remove paupers to England or Ireland were a legal or a management cost. Salaries for legal advisers or medical officers could be regarded as a management expense, or apportioned to other columns, and many Parochial Boards disagreed on how the figures should be calculated.¹⁹

It was noticeable that the City Board's expenses on litigation were reduced after the adverse comments made in the Poor Law Magazine in 1859 already mentioned,²⁰ decreasing from £783 in 1859 to £245 by 1863, yet there is no reason to suppose that the Parochial Board indulged in any less legal action. Relatives of paupers continued to be prosecuted for maintenance, removal warrants were still obtained and court cases were undertaken to settle disputes regarding assessment for rates. By placing items under different headings the Parochial Board could present a more favourable picture of its administration, and perhaps this is what was meant by the term 'adjusting'.

18. See appendix D below.

19. P.L.M. 1883, p.10.

20. See p. 73 above.

The total amounts returned to the Board of Supervision did not always tally with those in the abstract, as the following example indicates.

Board of Supervision return (from annual reports)	Abstract printed for members
1852-53	
Total income from rates: £19,882.13s.4½d	£19,773.7s.7½d
Total income from all sources: £21,120.14s.6¾d.	£23,730.13s.4¾d.

This kind of discrepancy was not apparent after 1861, because the Finance committee ordered the abstract of accounts to be "made up like the Board of Supervision returns",²¹ and as already mentioned, no abstracts are available after 1863.

Information about the City Board's finances is very sparse because apart from the Board of Supervision annual reports and the incomplete series of abstract accounts, the only other source is the Finance committee book, which was largely devoted to weekly transactions. The inspector presented all accounts due, for which cheques were authorised, but the amounts or other details were rarely recorded. He also drew weekly cheques to pay both the outdoor poor and guardians of paupers boarded out in other parishes, but the amounts were usually round sums of between £100 and £200 a week, with no further comments. There were obviously numerous bank books in the inspector's charge, but their contents were not discussed, nor was the petty cash book itemised. This was used by the inspector

21. P.B.M. 9 May, 1861.

for any trivial sums received, or small accounts to be paid, but both Small and Hay were in the habit of paying accounts from money received without entering either transaction in the bank book.

Greig was better organised but as he simply presented the book at meetings, no further details appeared in the minutes.

Until 1850 a vidimus²² was included in the minutes, but as this was badly printed, it is difficult to follow. It was only used to estimate the probable income and expenditure each year and its main value is as an indication of what provisions²³ were bought by the Parochial Board. If compared with a later account in 1893, it gives an idea of price changes and the increase in standards of living during the period; any alteration in working class habits being reflected in poor relief provisions.

In spite of the lack of detailed information, it appears that the City Board was able to manage parish finances each year, with no similar mismanagement of funds which had given rise to the debt incurred by the Charity workhouse before 1845. Furthermore, no supplementary assessment was necessary during any financial year, a possibility for which the 1845 Act made provision. To have required additional income would have inferred that the City Board members were either extravagant or incompetent in calculating each year's requirements, but the members never had to use this discretionary power. Ratepayers do not appear to have complained about the Parochial Board expenditure, but whether they were fully aware of the transactions is doubtful, although general information regarding total income and

22. See p. 137 below.

23. See Section II below.

Copy of the vidimus for October 1848 to October 1849

showing:-

prospective income; the prospective expenditure for
both the poorhouse and the outdoor provisions; and
the salaries of the officials.

Eden Grove

Board

10th Street

PAROCHIAL BOARD OF EDINBURGH,

FROM 1st OCTOBER 1843, to 1st OCTOBER 1849.

INCOME.

Assessment at 11 per cent. on £244,000, being on 4-5ths of Gross Rental.	£26,840 0 0
Off for Bad Debts.	1342 0 0
	£25,498 0 0
Deduct as follows.	
Expense of Collection at 2½ per Cent.	£637 9 0
Other Expenses.	96 10 0
Survey.	57 15 0
Portion to St Cuthbert's Parish.	450 0 0
Warrant.	0 17 6
Advertising.	2 6 6
	£1,234 18 0
	24,263 2 0
Rent of House in St Leonard's Lane, Edinburgh.	Net, £4 0 0
Rent of House in Forrester's Wynd.	6 0 0
Paul's Work Fees.	Net, 10 0 0
Shaw's Mortification.	10 0 0
City Bonds.	Net, 108 6 10
Board from Workhouse.	(5) 0 0
Charal Revenue.	30 0 0
Work of Innates.	100 0 0
	348 6 10
AMOUNT OF PROSPECTIVE INCOME.	£24,611 8 10

Should any surplus arise from the current year (not yet ascertained) it will, in addition to the foregoing, come to the credit of the year 1843-49.

EXPENDITURE.

INTERNAL DEPARTMENT.

MAINTENANCE, FIRE, LIGHT, ETC.

Out Meal, 1125 Bolls, at 10s. 6d.	£1,028 2 6
Barley, 282 cwt. at 13s.	183 6 0
Pease, 54 cwt. at 14s.	37 16 0
Rice, 44 cwt. at 14s.	30 16 0
Brand, 423 Four lb. Leaves, at 6d.	£1,10 11 6
" 35,356 doz. 6 oz. do. at 7d. per doz.	1031 4 4
	1011 15 10
Beef, 1791 Stones, at 5s.	447 15 0
" 2026 do. Houghs at 3s.	304 4 0
" 2015 do. Ox Heads, at 1s. 6d.	151 2 6
	903 1 6
Sweet Milk, 5871 Imperial Pints, at 4½d.	110 1 7½
Churn Milk, 37,548 Imperial Gallons, at 2½d.	391 2 6
Beer, 9230 Gallons, at 3d.	116 0 0
GROCERIES. —Tea, 560 lbs. at 3s. 8d.	102 13 4
" Sugar, 2892 lbs. at 5d.	60 5 0
" Pepper, 66 lbs. at 1s. 1d.	3 11 6
" *Wine for Sick and Feeble, 109 doz. at 30s.	150 0 0
" *Spirits for Sick and Feeble, 100 Gallons, at 9s.	45 0 0
" Vinegar, 36 Gallons, at 2s. 6d.	10 0 0
	371 9 10
Salt, 142 cwt. at 3s.	21 6 0
Vegetables and other small articles of Provisions.	90 0 0
Soap, 1-Hard, 26 cwt. at 50s.	65 0 0
" Soft, 29 Firkins, at 18s. 6d.	26 16 6
	91 16 6
Pearl Ashes, 4 cwt. at 37s.	7 8 0
Soda, 14 cwt. 7s.	4 18 0
Coals, 850 Tons, at 7s.	297 10 0
Gas.	100 0 0
Water.	21 0 0
	£4,747 10 3½

CLOTHING AND BEDDING.

Blue Cloth, 600 Yards, at 4s.	£1,200 0 0
Moleskin, 1260 Yards, at 11½d.	56 5 0
Fustians, 400 Yards, at 5½d.	8 15 0
Druggot, 2460 Yards, at 5½d.	56 7 6
Check, Jean, and Pint, 2000 Yards, at 6d.	50 0 0
Flannel, Blue, 1000 Yards, at 1s. 2d.	58 6 8
" Olive, 400 Yards, at 1s. 1d.	21 13 4
" White, 2060 Yards, at 11½d.	97 12 4
Dowles, 4200 Yards, at 5½d.	91 17 6
Calico for Lining, 3000 Yards, at 4d.	50 0 0
Bonnets for Boys, 400, at 19d.	18 13 4
" for Girls, 400, at 1s.	20 0 0
" Trimmings for ditto.	3 10 0
Napkins, 600, at 1s. 30d., at 7d.	38 15 0
Shawls, 200, at 2s. 6d.	37 10 0
Worsted, 130 Spindles, at 18s. 6d.	129 5 0
Battens, Mord, 20 Gross, at 9d.	0 15 0
Thread, 150 lbs. at 2s. 6d.	20 0 0
Tapes and Trimmings.	19 0 0
Pocket Handkerchiefs, 36 doz. at 4s.	6 0 0
Amount of Clothing.	£834 11 3
Shoes. —1067 Pairs, at the average of 4s. per pair.	£4,297 8 0
" Brushes for do., 35 Sets, at 2s. 6d.	4 7 6
" Clogs, 24 Pairs, at 5s. per pair.	6 0 0
	407 15 6
Carry forward, £1,292 7 2	4747 10 3½

EXPENDITURE—Continued.

Brought forward, £1,292 7 2	4747 10 3½
BEDDING, &c. —Blankets, 320 Pairs, at 8s.	128 0 0
" Bed Covers, 320 at 4s. 6d.	72 0 0
" Bed Tick, 2500 Yards, at 3d.	83 6 8
" Sheetings, 2500 Yards, at 3d.	83 6 8
" Travelling, 100 Yards, at 4d.	1 13 4
" Iron Bedsteads, 150, at 14s. 10d.	111 5 0
" " 65 " 18s. 4d.	59 11 8
Amount for Bedding, &c.	539 3 4
	1231 16 6

MISCELLANEOUS.

Repairs of Building and Utensils.	100 0 0
Brooms, Large, 5 dozen, at 34s.	8 10 6
" Small, 5 doz. at 19s.	2 10 0
	11 0 0
Fire Insurance.	20 0 0
Advertisements for Departments.	10 10 0
Wages to Hired Servants, and Premiums for Work done by Innates.	203 14 0
	£2947 9 9½

OUT-DOOR DEPARTMENT.

OUT-DOOR DEPARTMENT, INCLUDING EDUCATION AND BOOKS.	£1,564 0 0
INTERNAL AID FOR OCCASIONAL POOR.	2319 0 0
In Money.	£1,342 0 0
Provisions.	635 0 0
Clothing.	50 0 0
Removal of Paupers, belonging to other Parishes.	100 0 0
	4214 0
LUNATIC POOR. —For Board at Morningside Asylum.	£1,700 0 0
Additional Clothing for do.	30 0 0
	1730 0 0
Fifth Instalment for Right of Presentation, £1,170 0 0	
Twelve months Interest on £1,020, being balance due for Right of Presentation, at 5 per cent.	51 0 0
	221 0 0
Grass for Innates and Out-Door Poor.	1951 0 0
Expense of Internats for do.	300 0 0
	300 0 0
Expense of Medical Department, Medicines, Nutritious Diet, &c.	600 0 0
	179 0 0

SALARIES.

OFFICE DEPARTMENT.	
Inspector and Treasurer.	£1,250 0 0
Assistant Inspector and Law Clerk.	145 0 0
Principal Book-keeper.	100 0 0
Assistant Book-keeper and Sub-Cashier.	78 0 0
Assistant Law-Clerk.	65 0 0
Clerk on Pending Claims.	65 0 0
Assistant ditto.	60 0 0
Two Junior Clerks, at £152 and £141, 12s. 9d.	93 12 0
Apprentice.	10 0 0
Transcribing Clerk.	31 4 0
	£897 16 0

RELIEF DEPARTMENT.	
Inspector and Paymaster of Out-door Poor.	120 0 0
Inspector of Children Boarded Out.	100 0 0
Two Assistant Inspectors of Poor.	220 0 0
Two Sub-Inspectors of do.	109 4 0
Teacher in East Division.	50 0 0
	599 4 0

HOUSE DEPARTMENT.	
House Governor.	140 0 0
Chaplain.	100 0 0
Matron.	65 0 0
Assistant to Matron.	10 0 0
Matron of East Division.	55 0 0
Superintendent of East Division.	45 0 0
Gate-keeper.	32 0 0
	443 0

MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.	
Medical Officer.	50 0 0
Dispensary do.	52 10 0
Three District do.	150 0 0
Apothecary and Cupper.	40 0 0
	322 10 0

MISCELLANEOUS.	
Ambulance.	175 0 0
Law Charges.	200 0 0
Advertising, Printing, and Stationery	
for General purposes.	50 0 0
Expenses regarding Elections.	50 0 0
Incidental Expenses.	100 0 0
	£605 0 0

AMOUNT OF PROSPECTIVE EXPENDITURE, £24,146 18 9½

ABSTRACT.

Amount of Prospective Income.	£24,611 8 10
Amount of Prospective Expenditure.	24,146 18 9½
Remains Apparent Surplus.	£464 10 0½

JOHN HAY, Tr. and Inspector.

expenditure was available from the Board of Supervision's published reports. Even if the abstract of accounts were in general circulation, the complicated book-keeping procedure might have been totally incomprehensible to many Edinburgh citizens, and in any case, ratepayers were normally interested in but one aspect of finance; the amount of rates levied each year. The Finance committee considered that if the poor rate showed a reduction "and the poor were undoubtedly well cared for", then this was proof that the Parochial Board's affairs were well managed.²⁴

The 1845 Act allowed three methods of rating, the most commonly used being 'Mode I' as it was known. By this method, rates were divided equally between owner and tenant, of all lands and heritages within the parish, rateable according to the annual value of such property. Until 1854, the City Board employed an assessor but the Valuation Act of that year made arrangements for a valuation roll to be prepared by the Town Council, which was henceforth used as a basis for assessment for poor rates. The rate was not levied on the gross annual value of the property, because according to section 37 of the 1845 Act, deductions were allowed for repairs, general maintenance and any other burdens. Each Parochial Board decided what should be included in these deductions, some Boards using the system as a method of classifying property, giving commercial premises higher or lower deductions than private dwellings. The City Board gave a percentage deduction, imposing the rate on four-fifths of the real rent, thereby allowing one-fifth for all burdens on the property.

24. P.B.M. 4 April, 1856.

This system continued until 1875, but a court decision²⁵ changed what had been an accepted interpretation of the 1845 Act, by both central and local authorities. Henceforth one half of the total sum required by the City Parochial Board had to be raised from owners as a class and half from occupiers as a class. From this date therefore, the City Board imposed a slightly higher rate on tenants to fulfil this legal requirement. In 1875 for example, the total rate was $10\frac{3}{4}$ d in the £., levied as 5d on owners and $5\frac{3}{4}$ d on tenants to realise a total income of £21,000. Subsequently the rate was levied on nine-tenths of the rent instead of four-fifths, but during the whole period from 1845 to 1894, the deductions from the gross rental of private property was not a yearly fluctuating item.

Until 1850, in addition to the rate imposed for current expenditure, the City Board had also to levy a separate rate to liquidate the old debt incurred at the Charity workhouse, but did not at first realise that the two rates should be imposed differently. Before 1845, churches, hospitals, public buildings and many traditional exemptions were in force, but the 1845 Act required ALL property to be assessed for poor rates, and although there were many ambiguities on this point, Crown property appeared to be the only legal exemption. In 1845, the City Board imposed poor rates under the old system and it was the gradual realisation that the previous exemptions no longer applied, that eventually enabled the Parochial Board to reduce the poor rates in spite of the yearly increase in expenditure.

The City Board had to rely on its own ability to organise parish

25. C.S. 19 March, 1875. 2.R.650.

finances, for the Board of Supervision had neither the power or the knowledge about local rating systems to intervene, so regarded any inquiries as outwith its jurisdiction. The merchant members of the City Board did have a certain amount of knowledge about rating, but it was their business acumen which proved invaluable to the administration. They did not appreciate initially, that despite being in office for only twelve months, they could work on a long term basis; long term operational organisation was not a common feature in mid nineteenth century industry or commerce. Members were not given time to adjust the system in 1845, but were required to implement the Act immediately, and as the City parish had a large number of paupers, any administrative organisation had to develop through time, and with experience. Between 1845 and 1849, more applications for help were received as the provisions in the new law were better understood by the poor; the combined effects of bad harvests, rising prices, depressed trade, and cholera epidemics also increased the numbers of the poor in the City parish.

The first four years of Parochial Board administration were therefore, a period of steadily rising rates, reaching 2/8d in the £ in 1849 and the Finance committee became alarmed that this increase would continue. The income of £13,981 collected between 1845 and 1846 required to increase each year, both to cover the costs of the rising numbers of paupers and to provide improved conditions. The old poorhouse in Forrest Road was quite unsuitable to fulfil the requirements of the 1845 Act and the minimum standards of care devised by the Board of Supervision. It required constant alteration and adaptation if it was to remain an 'offer of adequate relief'.

Although the City Parochial Board did not have to temper relief

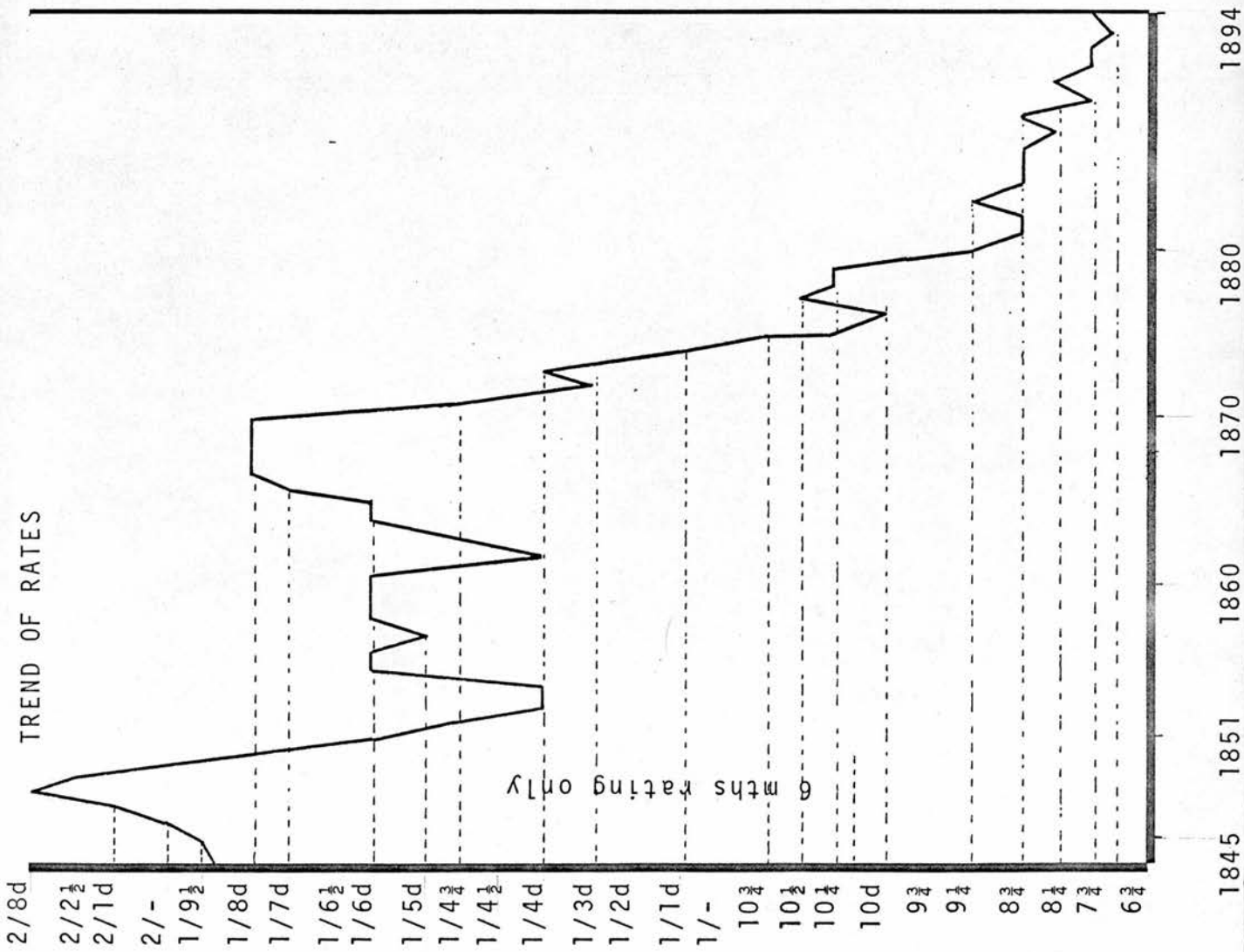
provisions according to its possible income, the Finance committee realised that a constant increase in rates would be unwelcome to the ratepayers, (who were also the electors), and in considering how the difficulties could be overcome, the Finance committee was assisted by the law experts on the Parochial Board. One of the traditional exemptions for rates under the pre 1845 system had been the Members of the College of Justice, but neither lawyers nor the Parochial Board immediately appreciated that this ancient privilege did not apply for current rates, although it did remain applicable for the rate imposed to liquidate the old debt. When this point was realised by the Finance committee, rates were accordingly imposed on the legal profession, and the disputes which arose, many of which required settling in court, had two important effects. Lawyers who were members of the Parochial Board seemed determined that 'all lands and heritages within the parish' would be assessed for poor rates, while the Finance committee always over estimated for the coming year so that any emergencies, particularly expenses in court, could be adequately met from the income.

From the accompanying chart,²⁶ it will be seen that the poor rate in the City parish followed a downward trend until 1894, when it was $7\frac{3}{4}$ d in the £, a quarter of the amount necessary in 1849, yet there was no corresponding decrease in expenditure.

	Income	Expenditure	Rate per £
1845-46:	£13,981	£13,260	$1/9\frac{1}{2}$ d
1849-50:	£24,128	£22,036	2/8d
1893-94:	£25,616	£24,626	$7\frac{3}{4}$ d

(these figures have been calculated from the minutes).

26. See p. 142 below.



1845-48: ↑ : trade depression etc.
1849-50: ↓ :
1850 : 6 mth assessment
1851-54: ↓ :
1855-57: ↓ : stability
1857-58: ↓ : slight
1860-62: ↓ : stability
1862-63: ↓ : of 2d
1863-64: ↑ : of 1d
1864-66: 2 yrs stability
1866-67: ↑ : 1d poorhouse loan
1867-71: stable at 1/8d
1871-72: ↓ : of 3d
1872-73: ↓ : of 2d
1873-74: ↓ : of 1d
1874-75: ↓ : of 3d
1875-76: ↓ :
1877 : ↑ : to 10 1/2d
1878-81: ↓ : to 8 3/4d
1882-83: ↓ : to 9 1/4d
1883-87: ↓ : to 8 1/4d
1888 : ↓ : to 8 3/4d
1889 : ↓ : to 7 3/4d
1890 : ↓ : to 8 1/4d
1891-3 : ↓ : to 7 1/2d

This decrease was a tribute to the administrative organisation in which both the Law and Finance committees played a prominent part, and was mainly achieved through the Parochial Board's increasing use of the policy to extend rating liability within the parish. It was introduced with caution, the City Board not being sure how far the policy could be carried out, or even if it would be tolerated in the parish. The Parochial Board's confidence increased however, as objections were overruled, and with every success, fewer objections were lodged.

The Law committee, no doubt aggrieved by the lawyers' loss of privilege from 1845, gave valuable advice to the Parochial Board, and rarely suggested court action unless fairly confident of success. When further opinions were necessary, the Parochial Board appealed to the Lord Advocate or paid fees to eminent Counsellors, all of which was a drain on the poor fund, but was considered justifiable. The extension of liability for rates increased the income without raising the poor rate, thereby removing any allegations which might be made about the Parochial Board's extravagance, and it was the correct interpretation of the Act. It was a policy pursued during a period of improvement schemes in Edinburgh, when low rental property was being replaced by buildings of higher annual value, and although the schemes often aggravated conditions for paupers, thus increasing the City Board's commitments, it was possible to collect more income when the new buildings were rated.

Despite the increased provisions offered in the City parish, including over £100,000 spent on the new poorhouse after 1870, rates did not increase sharply. As even the elaborate provisions necessary for pauper lunatics after 1857 (an expenditure which

incurred general disapproval) were met, along with all the other commitments in the City parish, by an increase of two pence on the rates, the objections to these provisions frequently mentioned in the minutes, seemed a little out of proportion. Perhaps the Parochial Board's real objections to the requirements imposed by the Board of Lunacy were largely due to its resentment that the asylum at Morningside refused to accommodate pauper lunatics at the hitherto reduced rate, but as the Board of Supervision refused to allow large numbers of lunatics to be placed in the poorhouse, the increased boarding rates had to be met.

Some of the expenditure incurred at the new poorhouse was offset to some extent by the extensive cultivation of the spare ground on the large estate acquired. This was very much an economic proposition as the work was undertaken by inmates, so there were no labour charges and the produce was both used in the poorhouse, and sold commercially. ^{26a} Additional profit accrued from the sale of rags, bones, refuse and surplus manure, all of which the Poorhouse committee felt was of benefit to both inmates and the City Board's finances, while the ground not used by the Parochial Board could be leased on a yearly rent. Inmates were also employed in general maintenance work in the poorhouse, in the kitchen, laundry and other sections, all of which reduced the need for paid staff, a point not often mentioned in the minutes. The initial capital expenditure would not have been possible however, if the Parochial Board had not pursued its policy of extending rating liability, for despite the growing need to build a new poorhouse and the obvious financial drain due to the continual alterations required at the Forrest Road institution, ratepayers would probably not have agreed to a sharp

26a. There was no mention of competition with free labour.

increase in rates. The rate of 2/8d in the £ was never necessary after 1849, and rates were more evenly distributed, although this was not the primary intention of the City Board, but an indirect effect of its policy.

The City Board's actions in this direction were not received without objections from both owners and tenants. The University, rated for the first time on an assessment of £4500 annual value appealed to the court, and in 1865 won its case.²⁷ It was a short lived triumph however because the Parochial Board appealed to the House of Lords²⁸ who decided in its favour. The University was forced to pay current rates and arrears, although on a reduced assessment of £3000. The City Board was quite prepared to take its case to the highest court, despite the expenses incurred, when it believed it had just cause for action. When criticised for the amount of litigation pursued in the City parish, the Law committee defended its actions by implying that it was a public duty for everyone in the parish to pay rates to help the poor, and the City Board was merely carrying out its Statutory duty.

The Town Council also objected to paying rates on its Chambers in the High Street, and on the markets it owned, the rents of which went towards the Common Good Fund. Legal action ensued, for the Parochial Board and Town Council rarely settled their differences amicably. The Town Council lost its case, being ordered to pay owners and occupiers rates as well as arrears since 1856, but not

27. J.G. Smith, The Law of Scotland relating to the Poor Law, (Edinburgh, 1867), p.127.

28. H.L. 8 June, 1868. 3.M.1151.

content with this success, the City Board added two and a half percent. interest to the arrears. The Town Council took legal proceedings, but again the case was decided in the Parochial Board's favour;²⁹ none of this helped to improve relations between the two bodies.

Further hostility occurred between the Parochial Board, the Town Council and church authorities, for the 1845 Act was very ambiguous regarding ecclesiastical property and private institutions. Eventually all churches gained rating exemption,³⁰ but the City Board began to assess the ground on which churches were built. As this was often owned by the Town Council, the latter found its rating liabilities considerably increased, yet were forced to meet the demand. Crown property presented a different kind of problem however, and the Parochial Board made frequent petitions to the government on this point. The Lord Advocate's opinion was also sought, but he stated that Crown property was exempt, and not even the Board of Supervision's offices in George Street could be assessed. Not all the Law committee was convinced on this point, but did not press the matter, instead, successfully taking up the Lord Advocate's further suggestion that rates could be imposed on property owned by George Heriot's trust.³¹

In 1874, the government agreed to pay a contribution towards the rates, so in December 1875 payment of rates was made on an assessment of £1162, estimated by the government assessor, but the

29. P.L.M. 1879, p.422.

30. 28 and 29, Vic.c.62.

31. P.L.M. December, 1862, p.183.

Parochial Board did not agree. It was of the opinion that £11,787 was a more accurate figure, but the Treasury refused to pay rates for any property not directly occupied for Crown purposes and the matter was dropped. The Parochial Board's views were reported in the press³² however, and although not wholly successful in its action against the Treasury, it had obtained some increase in both income and reputation. Ratepayers must have been pleased to find that despite all the increased expenditure, rates were steadily reduced in the City parish because of the financial capabilities of the Parochial Board.

As more emphasis was laid upon the rehabilitation aspect of poor relief, the payment of poor rates became a moral responsibility, the evasion of which would not be regarded with general favour. Opposition to the City Board's rating policy grew less, and it was soon realised that the Parochial Board seemed well advised before taking court action. If 'town and gown' could not succeed, private individuals were not disposed to try, but private companies were a different proposition.

Private burial companies for example were exempt from rates, a point which annoyed the Parochial Board, not simply because they were profit making concerns. A poorhouse was a charitable institution, yet after 1870, the City Board had to pay poor rates to Colinton Parochial Board, so the exemption of private cemeteries seemed a little unreasonable. The Parochial Board had another grievance however. From 1847, many churchyards had closed in Edinburgh, the closure of Greyfriars affecting the City Board particularly,

32. P.L.M. 1875, p.73.

because it was normally used for pauper interments. During the years, this process increased, culminating in the sweeping changes enforced under the Public Health Act in 1867. Private cemetery companies periodically increased their charges, and although the Parochial Board had other arrangements which reduced the expenses incurred, these were very restricted. The Town Council contributed £50 a year towards the cost of pauper funerals, and bodies could be sent to the medical school, which paid eight shillings towards the burial of any corpse sent to them for dissection. These arrangements were strictly controlled by the Inspector of Anatomy, the government official³⁴ appointed after 1830, to prevent any repetition of the Burke and Hare scandal, but any contribution towards pauper interments did not cover the increased costs.

The Law committee failed to obtain government legislation to assess private cemetery companies and the Parochial Board's attempt to provide a burial ground at the new poorhouse was obstructed by the Board of Supervision. The quarry intended to be used by the City Board was too near the poorhouse and would have interfered with the water supply, so the Parochial Board was forced to continue its arrangements with the private companies despite the increased charges.

Railways, canals and public utilities also provided problems, some of which were never entirely resolved, and which arose because of the deductions allowed by section 37 of the 1845 Act, and the Parochial Board policy of assessing all the property within the parish. The railways in particular objected to their increased

34. Is still appointed by the Crown.

liabilities with the development of railway stock and constantly disputed the definition of "real rent"³⁵ mentioned in section 37, which affected the deductions allowed by the Parochial Board. The 1854 Valuation Act was an attempt to clarify the position, making legal provisions for many property issues not dealt with under common law, and although this solved some problems connected with private property, with the provision of a valuation roll which could be used as a basis for assessment, it did not reduce litigation with companies.³⁶

Although railways and canals had a specially appointed Crown assessor³⁷ to value their extensive property, deductions were still estimated by the City Board. Each year the companies objected to the amount of rates due, demanding more allowances and negotiations were so lengthy that it was doubtful if any of the companies were ever out of rate arrears. Eventually the City Board decided to give a yearly percentage to each type of transport, railways receiving between twenty-five and thirty-three percent, tramways ten percent and so on, but disputes still arose. The railway companies repeatedly tried to get section 37 amended but the City Board took an active part in arranging conferences with other affected parishes and was successful in preventing any change in the law.³⁸

Public utilities such as water and gas presented similar difficulties, most of which were connected with what could be

35. C.S. 24 February, 1858. 20 D.677.

36. C.S. 10 December, 1864. 3 M.229.

37. 30 and 31. Vic.c.80.

38. P.L.M. 1893, p.148.

assessed and what should be deducted. The water companies pursued a lengthy court action with the City Board, decided in 1854,³⁹ after which, both gas and water companies were assessed for rates as owners and occupiers of any ground in which their pipes lay. Under these circumstances any improvements in housing or sanitation involved the companies in increased rates, as extension of plant meant a change in the deductions and rates to be paid, so although court decisions solved the problems for a time, the whole issue was liable to recur with more litigation being necessary.

The City parish income was mainly derived from poor rates from 1845, the management of which required considerable financial ability. The Parochial Board also used a financial technique with which merchants and business men were familiar, to manage any income collected during each year. Short term loans and the investing of capital to produce the highest return, were financial skills which developed in the nineteenth century and were adapted by the Parochial Board. Money was invested in insurance companies, bank deposits changed around to obtain the highest rate of interest throughout the year and money collected from rates was lodged where the most interest would be paid. The City Board used the knowledge of its members in a period when investment was not always fully understood, but stocks and shares and the intricacies of the money market were no mysteries to the financial members on the City Board.

During the years, the administration built up a reserve fund from various sources, which were mentioned regularly in the minutes. The sale of the poorhouse ground, the leasing of spare ground at

39. C.S. 12.D.1240; H.L. 13 February, 1854.

the new poorhouse, money from the sale of goods or property acquired from paupers or lunatics, as well as the balance which remained at the end of the financial year, were all resources which could be profitably invested. There were inmates in the poorhouse for instance, who had bank deposits, but had not declared these assets during the period they had received parish relief. The books were discovered on their deaths and the Parochial Board claimed the deposits. Although the amounts were usually small, often below £20, the cumulative amounts were a valuable contribution to the poor fund and part repayment towards any help previously given. The two highest amounts mentioned in the minutes were for £70 and £94, both of which the inspector quickly claimed, although a small sum was given to the relatives in each case. How common these discoveries of hidden assets were is difficult to calculate, because they were mentioned in the minutes only if relatives were involved, or the inspector wanted formal authority to claim deposits in banks other than the one used by the Parochial Board.

All supplementary sources of income were built up into a reserve fund, usually lodged with the Scottish Widow's Association and used as a bridging loan to cover the period between the end of the financial year in May and the final date of collection of rates. Other Parochial Boards usually had to cope with this intervening period with bank loans, a procedure permitted by the 1845 Act, but interest had then to be paid. The City Board initially used this system, but once the reserve fund had been accumulated, it was able to avoid repayment of any loan or interest charges. It did not have to resort to banking facilities every time a loan was required, but to speed the collection of rates it had a profitable

arrangement with the collector, and its choice of this employee seemed very fortunate.

There were four able men who collected Parochial Board rates during the period. MacDonald, the first collector, had previously been employed by the Town Council and continued in the employment of the Parochial Board until his death in 1859. The three succeeding collectors employed all had previous training in the book-keeping department of the Parochial Board offices, so all understood their tasks very well. A speedy collection was advantageous to the City Board so it arranged a method of collection which was also of benefit to the collector. His salary was on a commission basis with a higher commission for all rates collected before the final date of payment. Rates in arrears were difficult to collect and required the services of a sheriff officer, the issue of notices to poind and frequent visits to the offender. Since all these extra expenses had to be paid by the collector, he was anxious to reduce his costs and pursued his duties with diligence. The Parochial Board always mentioned the death of the collector in the minutes with regret, and of each one, stated that he had been most industrious and energetic.

The combined resources of efficient staff, financial experts as members, and skilled legal advisers as well as the large amount of high value property in the parish, placed the Parochial Board in an enviable financial position. It was well aware of the importance of being a direct rating authority and refused the Town Council offer to collect all rates after 1856. When given the task of collecting the school rate after 1872, the Parochial Board was not dismayed at the increased responsibility, for although it objected to the cost

of the collection being met from the poor fund, it did not suggest that the School Board should collect its own rate. By 1894, the administration was highly organised, economically stable and had developed into a powerful authority in local government.

Other sources of income were regularly investigated by the Parochial Board, although it had no success with the kirk sessions, who refused to contribute any part of the money collected at the church door towards the parish poor fund. There were various Acts of Parliament⁴⁰ which contained penalty clauses, imposing fines, a proportion of which could be given to the poor fund, and the 1845 Act⁴¹ also contained the same type of clause. However, the amounts were both small and difficult to collect, although the Parochial Board law agent appeared to protect the City parish interest in any penalty imposed by the court.

In addition to rates, pauper labour and deposits, the City Board had a certain amount of income from legacies and bequests, given by private individuals towards the care of the poor. Some were given conditionally and had to be applied for the specific purpose stated, but many were given simply to provide 'extra comforts for the poor'. The City Board invested the capital, using the interest for the purpose provided, as for example, Mrs. Tod's legacy, given in 1869. The £178 was invested, the interest being used to provide annual treats for inmates, and other donations were used in similar ways.

The Parochial Board also owned property, not just the premises taken over in 1845, as was the case of the poorhouse at Forrest Road,

40. Penalty clause in Factory Act, 1802; 59. George III.c.66.

41. 8 and 9. Vic.c.83. section 82.

but property managed for pauper lunatics for instance, for whom the inspector was the legal trustee. On the death of any pauper lunatic, the property could be sold, as for example, the house owned by Andrew McDonald who died in 1891. The property realised £206, which was deposited in the Parochial Board reserve fund. Some premises acquired in similar ways were used by the Parochial Board to house outdoor paupers, who then lived rent free as part of their allowance in kind. The City Board gradually learnt how to make the best use of its resources, and to question customs which had previously been accepted.

Under an Act of 1807⁴² for example, the City Board paid St. Cuthberts parish compensation for loss of rates because the extension of boundaries had included part of the latter parish. This was paid without question until 1879, when the Law committee raised the issue because of a recent change in the City boundaries.⁴³ By this date a total of £17,507.4s.7d. had been paid by the City Parochial Board but the agreement was rescinded by a court decision and St. Cuthberts had to pay the City Board compensation thereafter.

The Parochial Board also participated in the three government grants already mentioned, receiving a proportion of the yearly expenditure on lunatics, medical relief, as well as a payment under the Local Taxation returns. The medical grants encouraged the City Board to improve facilities for both physically and mentally ill paupers, but both the Board of Supervision and the Lunacy Board requirements had to be fulfilled before any share of the grants

42. 49 Geo.III.c.21.

43. 42 and 43. Vic.c.132.

was awarded.

Under the medical relief grant regulations, Edinburgh and Glasgow received a larger share than other parishes, being regarded as special urban areas for which the normal scale of payment was inappropriate. People came from all parts of Scotland to the voluntary hospitals in Edinburgh, for example, particularly the Royal Infirmary which had a national reputation. The City Board arranged that the Royal Infirmary authorities would try to establish a patient's parish of settlement, if he or she was likely to be a future charge on the poor fund. When patients were eventually discharged therefore, the City Board could give help when necessary and be assured of repayment from the parish concerned. The reproduced note⁴⁴ illustrates the kind of co-operation established between the Parochial Board and the Royal Infirmary. Without some kind of arrangement, the medical grant would have been of less value to the City parish, but the Parochial Board were quick to appreciate the difficulties of trying to administer poor relief in a city where hospital services were used by many other parishes in Scotland. The ability of the City Board to foresee a possible drain on the poor fund enabled the administration to cope with the increased expenditure, so where financial resources were concerned, the Parochial Board had an expert membership, anxious to use their knowledge to organise administrative income.

All the resources were assembled under the requirements of the 1845 Act for one main purpose; to provide improved relief to the entitled poor. The City Board had many resources available,

44. See p. 156 below.

Copy of a medical certificate, allowing William McBride,
a pauper, to remain in the Royal Infirmary, Edinburgh
until the City Parochial Board had made arrangements
for his removal. Parochial Board minutes.

William Mc Bride, the bearer, can remain
in the Infirmary - until arrangements have
been made by the Personal authorities here
as regards his transit to his own parish -
if they would kindly inform him whenever
such arrangements have been come to

Wm Wilson M.D. -
House Surgeon - A. Infirmary

25th May 1856

in the electorate, the managers, the staff and financial assets. All were interdependent and interconnected with relief programmes, a point not immediately appreciated by the Parochial Board. During the first fourteen years, the City Board concentrated on administrative procedure, slowly becoming aware that resources were under utilised because the Board was not an integrated unit. Once a co-ordinated administration developed, the Parochial Board turned its attention to organising recipients for whom the City parish was well equipped to offer improved relief. Some Parochial Boards less well endowed with resources of all kinds must have found implementation of the 1845 Act very difficult, but it is because of the wealth of resources in the City parish, that the latter cannot be taken as a typical organisation for poor relief administration after 1845.

The conversion of resources into relief provisions proved a very complicated procedure, but many of the problems encountered were due to the lack of administrative unity. Not until this was achieved did the City Parochial Board fully utilise the resources to provide 'improved relief for the parish poor' and events were to prove that this was another phrase which could be interpreted in different ways.

SECTION II

Relief Provisions

The new administration for poor relief in Scotland after 1845, had two purposes; relief conditions were to improve and pauperism would be brought under control. Parochial Boards were the means through which relief was given, while the Board of Supervision would ensure that any arrangements made were an improvement. Each parish remained responsible for its own poor, . Persons ; requiring help from the public fund would not be impelled to leave their own areas , thereby (increasing) the numbers of vagrants. Implementation of the Act was therefore linked to the control of the parish poor, but there was a further implication.

Parochial Boards were expected to carry out their duties in an effective manner, organising their finances, converting the fund into relief provisions, but making quite sure that only the entitled poor received help. One of the features of efficiency was, therefore, the detection of fraudulent claims, and this was the purpose of the investigating duties assigned to each inspector. Parochial Boards which had an increased number of registered poor each year were either being forced to deal with the rising incidence of poverty in their areas, or were too lax in their administrations, accepting claims without thorough investigation. The former explanation was only acceptable if the association between poverty and the general economic or social conditions was understood, and in the nineteenth century, it was the laxity of the administration which was emphasised. As a result, a reduction in the numbers of registered poor became a measure of efficiency, but how this was

achieved was a decision for each Parochial Board.

The main duty of the Board of Supervision was implied in its title; to supervise local arrangements, and to achieve this, it was empowered to make rules and regulations. Once these were given the approval of the Secretary of State, they were obligatory,¹ a provision in the Act which increased the central authority's power. The Board of Supervision allowed a certain amount of flexibility at local level, provided that a Parochial Board obtained its approval, which was not given if the local arrangements were considered to be substandard in any way. The Act gave Parochial Boards 'discretionary powers', indicating that uniform provisions were not intended, and the Board of Supervision did not attempt to enforce rigid standards throughout Scotland. Parishes varied in their resources, in the abilities to utilise these, and in economic and social circumstances. To have attempted to impose one standard in all the 880 parishes in Scotland would not have been possible or reasonable. However, local discretionary powers could be restricted by the Board of Supervision regulations.

Many of the terms used in the Act were interpreted by the central authority and if they were at variance with a Parochial Board opinion, arguments between the two levels of administration ensued. It was soon apparent that a Parochial Board was unlikely to succeed in any dispute if the Board of Supervision was convinced that its opinion was correct, because the central authority could threaten court action on the grounds that a Parochial Board was obstructing implementation of the law.² It was reluctant to use this power, preferring to

1. B.S.M. 3 December, 1846.

2. B.S.M. 6 December, 1849.

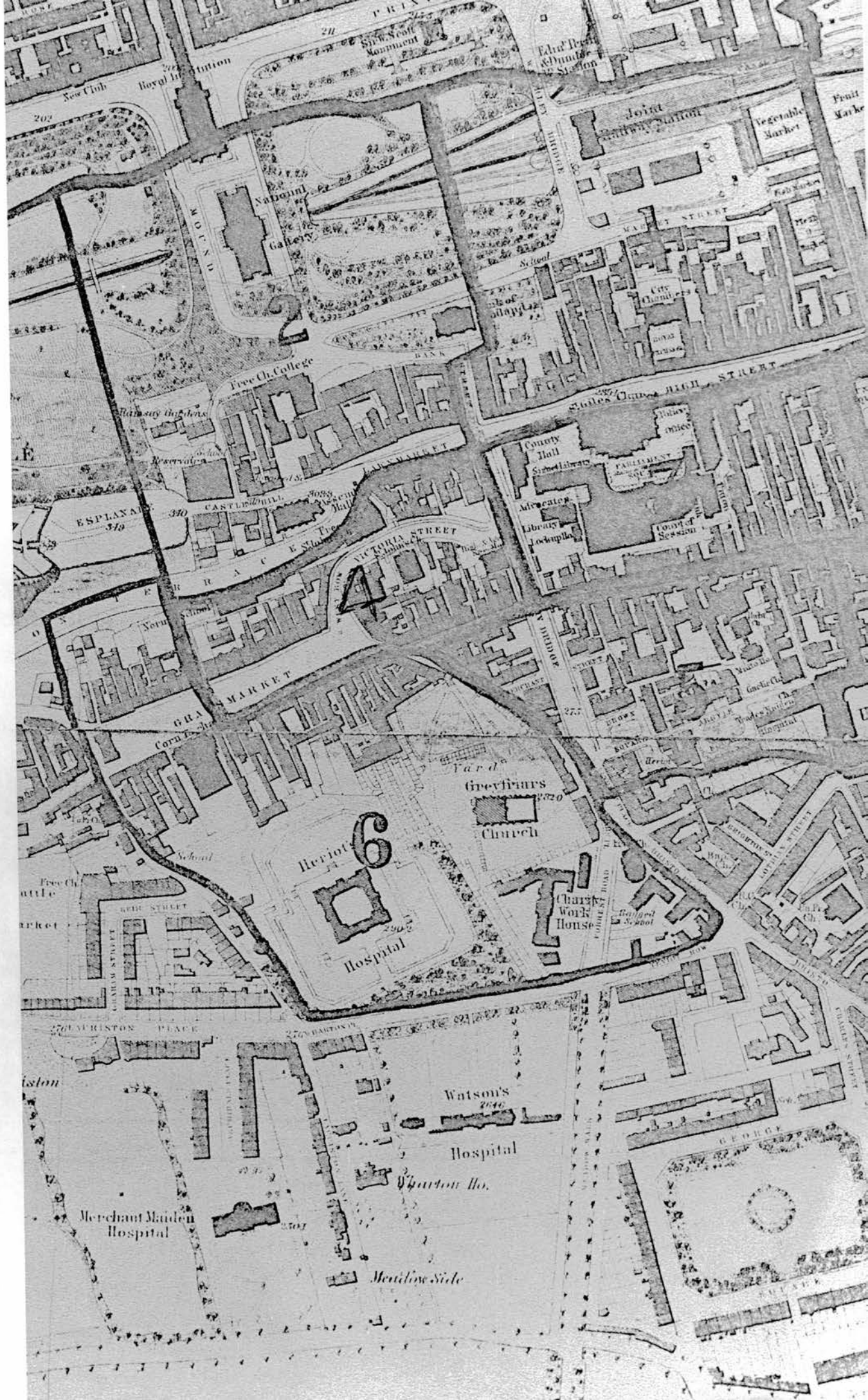
achieve its aims through co-operation, but the fact that it could be used was often sufficient to make any Parochial Board conform to the Board of Supervision regulations and standards. To prevent persistent central intervention in local affairs, Parochial Boards had to provide relief according to the Board of Supervision standards of care, but this was a situation not immediately appreciated, each local Board assuming it had complete control in the parish, and the City Board was no exception.

In 1845, the Town Council continued to administer relief as the Parochial Board until election arrangements could be made, and despite its temporary nature, arrangements had to be made to give assistance to the large number of paupers in the City parish. It had to consider what was meant by improved relief, to whom this should be given, and how the poor fund should be collected. The latter was given priority, and arrangements to levy a poor rate were quickly made, but, as relief provisions already existed in the parish, the administration re-engaged the majority of the staff and continued to provide indoor assistance at the Charity workhouse,³ (henceforth known as the City poorhouse), but gave the majority of recipients allowances as outdoor poor.

The arrangements were perpetuated by the elected Parochial Board in 1846 under the type of committee system already discussed, and the important task of deciding who was entitled to relief was delegated to the Claims committee, which in turn delegated the duty to the City inspector. That the decisions made by this section of the administration would affect the entire organisation was not fully

3. See p. 161 below; an enlarged section from Johnston's map of Edinburgh, 1851.

Enlarged section of Johnston's map of Edinburgh,
1850, showing Charity Workhouse (section 6) and
its proximity to the congested old town.



appreciated at first, nor was it realised that the numbers of registered poor would be regarded as a measure of efficiency. Until both these points were appreciated, the necessity of a co-ordinated organisation was not understood, nor was a proper connection made between assessment of applications and the disposal of persons accepted as entitled to relief. Until 1859 therefore, the problem of deciding who were the entitled poor was delegated to the inexperienced John Hay, who had also to decide whether indoor or outdoor relief should be offered, and it proved to be a very difficult task.



Eden Grove

Bond

TUB SIZED

3

Form of application for Parochial Relief.

Any party detected aiding, in any manner, pauper claimants or applicants, in wilfully and knowingly imposing on the parish, for the purpose of unduly obtaining relief or increase of relief, or in resorting to any other undue means for that purpose, will be dealt with according to law.

The names and cases of all such offenders will be published, and circulated throughout the parish, and reported to all the inspectors and other Parochial Officers in Scotland.

All questions to be answered and declarations signed by every applicant - and also all paupers already on the roll of the parish, as often as thereto required by the inspector or managers, otherwise to be liable to punishment according to law.

-
- Q. 1. What is your name?
- Q. 2. Your age?
- Q. 3. Your present residence?
- Q. 4. The place and the parish of your birth?
- Q. 5. Can you read?
- Q. 6. Can you write?
- Q. 7. Your parents' names, occupations and residences?
- Q. 8. State here your husband's or wife's name and connexions.
- Q. 9. If your husband or wife be dead, state where and how long ago?
- Q. 10. Have you any right; to heritable property, or succession whatsoever; are there any debts due to you? If so, state the value and amount and the names and addresses of the persons against whom you have claims and all other particulars regarding the same.
- Q. 11. Are you in possession of any money in bank, or in the hands of any person, or of any moveable property, furniture or other effects? If so, state the sort of property or effects and the value of the whole as nearly as possible.

Take notice; that if false answers be given to any of the foregoing queries, the parish may eventually claim any funds or property you conceal, and may recover the same at the instance of the inspector.

- Q. 12. What induced you to leave the place of your birth, or the parish where you had last acquired a settlement? When did you leave it? What intermediate parishes have you been in since? How long did you reside in each?
- Q. 13. State here: how long you have resided in this parish: where you have resided in the last seven years: the names and addresses of landlords: rents paid to each. Produce also the landlords' receipts for the rents, and the receipts for parish rates or taxes which you have paid: or certificates of your residence in the parish.
- Q. 14. State here: what premises you occupy; the rent you now pay; the landlord or factor's name.
- Q. 15. State here: any bodily disease or infirmity which disables you from earning your livelihood. How long have you been afflicted with it?
- Take notice; it is desirable to have the answer certified by a medical gentleman.
- Q. 16. Have you, or any member of your family, ever received any Parochial relief, pension or charity from any person or institution? If so, state the times when; how much you received and from what source.
- Q. 17. What places of worship have you attended during the time you have been in this parish? If a communicant in any congregation, produce a certificate from your minister, stating how long you have been so, and your character.
- Q. 18. To what business were you bred? When? Where and under whose charge?
- Q. 19. State how you have been hitherto employed and supported? What you now work at and your weekly earnings, or the earnings of yourself and wife.
- Q. 20. If you have children state; their names, ages, residences, occupations, by whom employed and if married, the number and ages of their children.
- Q. 21. State here the weekly earnings of each of your children.
- Q. 22. State here any other peculiar circumstances in your case, which you consider entitle you to Parochial relief.
- Q. 23. If the Parochial Board find proper to grant you any alimentary allowance, are you willing to subscribe the annexed declaration, bequeathing to the parish all you may have at your death, in repayment of what they advance to you?

Applicant sign here.

NB. Paupers will be cautious to give true answers to the whole of the above queries, and to such others as may be necessarily put, and give all requisite information, otherwise, they may be liable to be prosecuted for fraud and wilful imposition, upon the truth being discovered.

Chapter 5.

The entitled poor.

Prior to 1845, "all persons who, by reason of age or infirmity, cannot live without alms",¹ were entitled to relief, and the able bodied person was therefore excluded from obtaining parish help. It was a principle established by the 1579 Act, which further distinguished between the permanent and the occasional poor. The former were placed on the parish poor roll, while the latter received temporary assistance from the church or other funds, the difference between the two types being based on the duration of help they required.

Section 33 of the 1845 Act authorised assessment for poor rates to be converted into relief for the entitled poor, but it did not explain who had the right to this help in future, while section 68 gave little further guidance. According to this clause, both the occasional and permanent poor were entitled to relief, but the able bodied out of employment had no right to demand help. The terms 'pauper', 'proper objects of relief', 'entitled poor', were all used in the Act and by the Board of Supervision, but none were defined, and all could be interpreted in different ways, so it was by no means clear for whom the improved relief was intended. Parochial Boards discovered that a decision regarding which applications for relief were granted, was entirely their responsibility, but if the claim was refused the decision could be reversed.

According to section 73 of the Act, persons not admitted as 'proper objects of relief' by a Parochial Board, could appeal to

1. J.G. Smith, The Laws of Scotland relating to the Poor,
(Edinburgh, 1867), p.135.

the sheriff. It was the intention of the Act to facilitate any such appeal by providing an informal procedure, not requiring the intervention of lawyers, court agents or the incurring of legal expenses. This procedure was regulated by an Act of Sederunt in 1846,² which outlined the simple means whereby persons refused help could have their case heard and decided without unnecessary delay. All that was required was a verbal or written petition to the sheriff, who promptly considered the case and pronounced a final decision, with no further court of appeal being allowed for either the claimant or the Parochial Board. An order granting relief had to be immediately executed by the inspector, while a decision to uphold the Parochial Board's original judgement, sent the petitioner elsewhere to seek help.

The Board of Supervision, realising the problems which might arise, particularly that of undermining the inspector's or the administration's authority, made regulations concerning any refusal of relief. Inspectors were required to furnish a certificate to applicants stating the grounds on which the refusal was based, and the sheriff could ask the petitioner to produce the certificate before considering the appeal. Whether this brief social report was taken into consideration or not, was entirely up to the sheriff and from various complaints received by the Board of Supervision during the period, it appeared that not all sheriffs did consider the certificate. Edinburgh sheriffs varied in their procedure, sometimes notifying the City parish inspector that an appeal had been lodged, thereby giving the official an opportunity to amplify

2. Act of Sederunt, 12 February, 1846.

his statement, but others considered petitions without any notification, and orders granting relief were the first indication the City inspector received, that the applicant had questioned his decision in court.

It is difficult to discover how many refused applicants lodged a complaint, because not all petitions were recorded in the informal court procedure, and the City inspector did not appear to keep a separate register, or refer to the matter at many meetings of the Claims committee. The Board of Supervision gave figures in its annual reports from which the following table has been compiled, but there were no figures before 1849 or after 1888, and the Board of Supervision frequently complained that the sheriffs did not send in any returns, but they were under no obligation to do so.³ The information given in the annual returns did not include how many of the applicants who were refused help did apply to the sheriff, and were again refused. In fact, all the returns showed was how many claims the inspector said he had refused and the number of orders he had subsequently been forced to obey.

3. B.S.M. 28 July, 1847.

Table showing the number of claims refused by the City inspector and the number of orders granted by the sheriff.

Date	Refused claims	Sheriffs orders
1849-53	4359	241
1854-58	3007	155
1859-63	1413	111
1864-68	1398	85
1869-73	1842	104
1874-78	763	49
1879-83	679	27
1884-88	479	not given.

It will be seen that there is a downward trend for both refused claims and sheriffs orders, but as it is not known how many applications were received each year, it is impossible to calculate what proportion of claims were refused, and similarly, how many petitions presented to the sheriff were refused.

At first glance it seems that the City inspector became more lenient in deciding who was entitled to relief, or that he had a better idea of what the term 'entitled' meant, but there are several other possible explanations. For example, the claim may have been refused because the applicant was thought to be able bodied, but his dependents may have been given help. Parents who were poor might be unable to provide for all their children, and although their own claim had been refused, the younger children could also claim, becoming paupers or the entitled poor in their own right.

A claim may have been refused because of improper completion of the printed schedule,⁴ but may subsequently have been granted in a renewed application.

Again, a claim might be refused because it had been previously established that the applicant had no settlement in Scotland and if he had been removed to his own country on a former occasion, the inspector would not only refuse further assistance, but would prosecute. Casual recipients required help intermittently and may have been given help when the circumstances warranted, but would be refused if the inspector considered conditions had changed and that the applicant did not require further assistance, and the figures may indicate that the inspector after 1859 avoided double counting by not submitting renewed applications. A claim may have been refused, no monetary alimnt being awarded, but medical relief might have been given for a brief period; with all these possibilities, the figures annually reported by the Board of Supervision do not have much value.

One factor emerges from the table however. From the opening of the new poorhouse in 1870 the number of refused applications noticeably decreased, perhaps because Greig did not have to refuse claims which might be doubtful, but could offer poorhouse accommodation instead, as a test of genuine need. Casual applicants, vagrants and other persons, even if requiring parish help, did not always wish their liberty restricted and to be closely supervised within the institution and many of them would refuse the offer. Furthermore, if the offer of poorhouse relief to the majority of

4. See p. 163 above.

claimants was known to be the consistant policy of the Parochial Board, then fewer people would apply. It was only from 1883 that the Board of Supervision returns included the number of paupers who refused the offer of poorhouse accommodation, and as the following table shows, these numbers were fairly substantial.

Table showing the number of applicants offered poorhouse accommodation and refused, compared with the number formally refused relief.

Date	Offer of poorhouse refused	Formal refusal of claim by inspector
1883	1028	110
1884	1348	68
1885	1068	114
1886	876	76
1887	1296	137
1888	1017	84
1889	1072	75
The return was not given after 1889.		

The comprehensive assessment of each application, combined with the disposal procedure, was only possible for a unified administration, and when coupled with a better understanding of who was entitled to relief, and the Parochial Board emphasis on supervised care, would help explain the reduction of claims which were refused.

At first, John Hay had no such direction and was required to investigate all claims within twenty-four hours, before giving any decision. It was too brief a period for a full investigation and the inspector must often have made hasty decisions based on inadequate

information from the completed schedule for relief.⁵ The Claims committee reserved the right to change any decision he made and were prepared to give advice in cases of difficulty, but as it met once a week only at first, the inspector had to deal with all the claims until the appointed day. If he accepted the majority of claims, he would be questioned, and if he gave interim relief, he had acknowledged future liability should the applicant apply for help in another parish. It would appear that the inspector made the decisions about each claim, receiving formal endorsement at the meetings, while the committee members confined their duties to compiling the pauper roll from the claims admitted, revising it twice a year as required by law.

The inspector was given no guidance about who were entitled to relief, and assumed that the sixteenth century principles would continue to apply. Help could therefore be given to the destitute and disabled as a legal right, but the able bodied were not entitled to demand assistance. The latter term was not defined, and as the 1845 Act did not specifically state that no relief should be given at all, both the central and local authorities assumed that the able bodied persons out of work could be given temporary assistance at the discretion of each Parochial Board. 'Occasional' help was permitted by the Act and could be applied to the unemployed who required temporary help because they were destitute; but this proved to be a very controversial issue.

Lord Colonsay stated that this had been his intention in framing

5. There are no completed schedules available for the City parish.

the Act,⁶ but in 1859, a court case⁷ overturned the accepted practice by declaring it was ultra vires to use the poor fund in this way. Neither the local nor the central Boards were satisfied with the decision so the matter was taken to the House of Lords. In 1866,⁸ the original decision was confirmed, their Lordships being of the opinion that if there was no right to demand relief, there was no Parochial Board right to give it; to do so was illegal. Furthermore, the House of Lords confirmed Lord President Inglis' original definition of the term 'able bodied',⁹ for although it was agreed that the term was comparative, in law it meant any person not suffering from physical or mental disability which prevented him from providing his own maintenance. From 1866 therefore, the inspector had a clear definition for the able bodied, but the whole issue placed Parochial Boards in a difficult situation.

If any applicant died because of being refused relief, Parochial Boards could be criminally prosecuted, and this virtually meant that the inspector would be held responsible. In an effort to protect the official, the Board of Supervision had issued a circular,¹⁰ offering a compromise for any Parochial Board faced with the problem. It was suggested that a man out of work for any length of time soon became disabled through lack of the necessities of life, but before

6. J.G. Smith, The Law of Scotland relating to the Poor, (Edinburgh, 1867), p.139.

7. C.S. Petrie v Meek. 4 March, 1859. 21.D.614.

8. H.L. Jack v Isdale. 12 February, 1866. 4.M.

9. C.S. Jack v Thom. 14 December, 1860. 23.D.173.

10. B.S.M. 18 May, 1860.

the point of starvation was reached, he had been legally entitled to help for some time previous, as a destitute and disabled person. The central Board suggested that in these cases, the most appropriate help offered, both for the claimant and his dependents, was admission to the poorhouse. When the man had recovered his health, he could be discharged, although the Parochial Board might continue to give indoor relief to his family, until he could once again support them.

Most Parochial Boards accepted this suggestion, but in the City parish, unemployment was not such a pressing problem. With no large scale single industry, as for example in Glasgow, Edinburgh did not suffer mass unemployment during trade recessions, and when affected at all, there were numerous charitable organisations within the city who could usually manage to deal with the problem. The Town Council also organised soup kitchens, collected donations and arranged 'public works' and the Parochial Board contributed to the Town Council fund, or provided help in the manner suggested by the Board of Supervision. In answer to an inquiry from an architect in 1865, therefore, with regard to how much accommodation would be required in the new poorhouse for the able bodied, the City inspector could reply; "we do not profess to help the able bodied unemployed in Scotland",¹¹ but whether it was the law or not, the City Parochial Board did assist them when necessary.

The City inspector had difficulties enough without the added complication regarding the able bodied, because if relief was given to the destitute and disabled, both terms could be interpreted in different ways. The Claims committee gave no guidance on the

11. P.B.M. 11 July, 1865.

matter, nor indicated if both conditions should be present before help was given, or which term carried the most weight. A schedule was printed¹² which all applicants had to complete, but despite the numerous questions which appeared to be directed at discovering whether destitution or disability was present, only two queries really had any significance. Efforts were made to discover if the applicant had any relatives who might be liable to support him, and as the City parish was only responsible for its own poor, where was the claimants parish of settlement.

These two items became the inspector's priorities, affecting both his decision about entitlement to relief, and how relief was offered. Both were difficult to establish in the absence of official documents before 1854,¹³ and the process was further complicated by the Scottish marriage laws, the faulty memories of the applicants and their natural reluctance to provide information. Relatives in direct line of descent were held liable for each other's support in times of adversity, but this could only be enforced if the inspector could prove that the relatives in question were able to provide support without impoverishing themselves and their families. Lawyers were not at all certain which collateral relatives were liable and court actions ensued as inspectors tried to establish a principle of law, or a precedent for future decisions. These judgements varied however, so the obligation between parents and children for each other's support remained the only clear indication of legal duty, but even this depended upon the resources available to the

12. See p. 163 above.

13. 17 and 18. Vic.c.80.

liable party, and whether offenders could be traced.

As many applicants might have tried to get support from relatives before applying for parish help, they were naturally reluctant to have relatives found and prosecuted, which in any case, was an action bound to affect relationships within families, so the inspector had to pursue his investigations with little or no help from applicants. The City inspector certainly proceeded with these prosecutions, which the Parochial Board considered very important, but usually remitted the cases to the Law committee for guidance or help in establishing proof, particularly after 1852, when there was a full time law clerk as well as a law agent employed by the law department. The inspector still had to appear personally in all court cases, however, because any action brought against or by the Parochial Board was brought in the inspector's name, and court cases must have taken up a lot of the City inspectors time.

Settlement was equally difficult. Paupers had birth settlements which could be used if no acquired settlement could be established, and the law of settlement proved to be an expensive complication in poor relief administration after 1845. According to section 76 of the 1845 Act, five years continuous residence in a parish, during which time the person had totally maintained himself and his family without begging, or receiving poor relief, was necessary to acquire a residential settlement, or the right to belong to a parish. Both paupers and the liable parish were reluctant to disclose information, and the onus of proof, in order to reclaim any advances given to paupers without City parish settlement, lay with the inspector. As each parish was responsible for its own poor, to admit liability meant incurring expenses for both relief given in the past, and future

maintenance, or arranging for the removal of the family concerned back to the parish of settlement. Neither Parochial Boards nor paupers therefore were anxious to assist the inspector in his inquiries, so he consequently spent much time and energy trying to establish the proper parish of settlement, and difficulties often had to be decided in court. The law of settlement was said to provoke increased expenditure in litigation,¹⁴ as Parochial Boards and lawyers argued about the legal interpretation of 'continuous residence', settlement acquired by marriage and so forth, but the court cases were more often the result of parishes trying to evade their obligations rather than because of the settlement legislation. However, "every question of settlement must necessarily be determined by the circumstances of the pauper as these exist at the date of his applying for and receiving parish relief",¹⁵ and inspectors found the whole issue very complicated. With little co-operation between local Boards, the officials often refused to assist each other in any way, and it was the lack of courtesy between them, often provoked by settlement issues, which was the main reason why the Society of Inspectors was created in 1856. More amicable relations developed gradually, while disputed points regarding poor relief administration and settlement in particular, were discussed at meetings, often preventing future legal action.

Applicants with no settlement in Scotland posed another difficulty, for although section 77 of the 1845 Act allowed Parochial

14. P.L.M. 1864-65, p.314.

15. J.G. Smith, The Law of Scotland relating to the Poor, (Edinburgh, 1867), p.206.

Boards to remove Irish, English and Manx paupers and their dependents back to their country of origin, it was a section which was constantly disputed. The Board of Supervision issued numerous regulations regarding these removals, insisting that they should be properly effected, and an Act in 1862¹⁶ gave additional regulations. Before this legislation was passed, what were euphemistically called 'voluntary removals' were allowed, the Parochial Board being permitted to send paupers back to their own countries without a warrant being necessary, if the latter agreed to go. How they were 'persuaded' was not apparent, for few Irish appeared willing to return home, where relief provisions were indoor facilities, and the Irish workhouse did not appear to compare favourably with the Scottish poorhouse.¹⁷ The City inspector gave no indication of how voluntary removals were achieved, but he did obtain warrants very regularly, perhaps realising the advantage of the legal procedure.

The inspector received very little help from either Irish paupers or the Irish poor law authorities, when he tried to establish to which Union the immigrants belonged, and to return paupers to the wrong Union workhouse, gave the Irish authorities a valid excuse to return the paupers to Edinburgh. A clerk was employed to supervise the removals of paupers from the City parish, and it appeared to be a full time occupation accompanying them to their destination, although he frequently complained that the Irish families returned with him on the same boat, or even preceded his arrival in the City parish. If warrants were obtained, any pauper returning

16. 25 and 26. Vic.c.113.

17. P.L.M. 1876, p.166.

to the parish from which he had been removed, and once again applying for relief, could be prosecuted, an action which the City Parochial Board did take, and returning paupers were wise to choose another parish if they required help. However, if asked for details by another Parochial Board, the City willingly gave all the information necessary, and petitioned against any bills which attempted to repeal the removal clause in the 1845 Act.

The Irish question was very complicated because it was connected with the Roman Catholic controversy which seemed to flare up periodically, and it was the connection between the two which made the Board of Supervision insist that removals should be properly carried out. Relations between the City Board and its counterparts in Ireland were never cordial, but the Board of Supervision minutes indicate that it was not a problem confined to Edinburgh. The central Board also collected information about removals of paupers from all parishes in Scotland, which was given in the annual reports, and the City Board appeared to remove an average of 1400 Irish paupers and slightly more dependents each year between 1864 and 1873, after which the figure rarely exceeded 500 for both paupers and dependents. Prior to 1864, removal figures were not divided into English or Irish and there is no separate record available in the City parish minutes.

Table showing the number of Irish paupers removed, as given in the Board of Supervision annual returns.

1864.	1309 paupers and	1622 dependents
1865.	1332	1625
1866.	1384	1775
1867.	1501	2507
1868.	1715	1469
1869.	1615	2131
1870.	1343	1717
1871.	1094	1979
1872.	1058	1937
1873.	1348	1673
1874.	436	489
1875.	347	270
1876.	419	396
1877.	478	306
1878.	541	286
1879.	452	334
1880.	510	290
1881.	454	271
1882.	435	250
1883.	405	81

After this date, the number of Irish given relief during the year is returned and the separate item was not recorded at all after 1889.

The removal policy pursued by the City Board was persistent and in marked contrast with the adjoining parish of St. Cuthberts, where

the figure rarely exceeded 200 paupers and 150 dependents each year between 1864 and 1874, although followed much the same pattern from then onwards. The City Board policy may have been mitigated from 1873, by the regular election of a Catholic priest, but the Poor Law Magazine remarked in 1882, that the City Parochial Board was still pursuing its policy of Irish removals, although fewer removals actually took place and "only those likely to be a permanent burden on the parish were transferred to Ireland".¹⁸

The question of who was entitled to relief was by no means simple, and from the minutes it would appear that the City inspector dealt with between 6000 and 8000 recipients each year, although they fail to mention how many applications were received until 1890, after which date the Claims committee indicated it had dealt with between 300 and 400 claims each month. Statistical details about the City parish paupers suffer from similar complicated methods of calculation and discrepancies associated with the financial information, but have been collected from three main sources.

The Board of Supervision required a return each May which was similar in form to the financial return, being compiled under column headings,¹⁹ which were altered in attempts to obtain more detailed information.²⁰ The same problems were apparent in both returns however, because inspectors had no uniform system and a yearly return of the numbers of paupers in a parish was a difficult calculation to make. The registered poor, for example, were the

18. P.L.M. 1882, p.228.

19. See p. 181 below.

20. See appendix F below.

BOARD OF SUPERVISION HEADINGS

NUMBERS

YEAR	Number Relieved on Poor Roll	Number who died or ceased to get relief	Number of casual poor	Number refused relief by Inspector	Number given relief by Sheriff	Number of Removals	Number of Lunatic Paupers	Number of orphans/deserted children
1846 - 1862								
After this date the form assumed the complicated procedure shown in Appendix C.								
Example for the year ending May, 1853:								
1852-53	2931	1200	2426	470	57	365	173	464

ones placed on the poor roll in each parish, but this was a fluctuating figure, and not until 1875 did the Board of Supervision require average figures to be submitted for the 14th August, the 1st of January and the 14th of May each year. Furthermore, inspectors were not sure whether dependents of paupers should be included in the return and these were not specifically mentioned until 1855. The heading 'casual poor' caused much confusion. There was no general agreement on the distinction between permanent and casual paupers, it all depended upon the length of time during which relief was given, but the temporary recipients might re-apply for relief several times a year, or in numerous parishes, so double counting was obvious. It is not clear if the figures submitted by the City parish were the number of recipients on the day the return was compiled, or an average number for the whole year, until 1875; yet the Board of Supervision returns were used to calculate the incidence of pauperism in each parish. As this was a measure of efficiency, Parochial Boards were unlikely to return increased numbers, and the City Board returns showed that 5461 received relief in 1847 as compared with 1967 in 1894.

The second source of information was a short statement at the end of the printed abstract of accounts, where total figures were entered for paupers receiving indoor or outdoor care. The following copy indicates one of the varied methods of calculating the figures, and the differences between the abstract statistics and the information returned to the Board of Supervision.

Copy of the information in the abstract of accounts for the year ending May, 1853.

Average number in the City poorhouse during the year 1852-53:	599
Average number receiving outdoor relief	869
Number of cases receiving outdoor relief 2386, 'which taking an average of three individuals to each case or family' equals 7158	
Therefore, the number receiving outdoor relief 8027	
Total number of recipients:	8626

This figure bears little resemblance to those submitted to the central authority for the same year.²¹

The Parochial Board rarely included figures indicating the number of paupers in the parish but the reproduced statement²² was produced at the request of some of the members in 1862 and shows the number of poor relieved between 1852 and 1862. As will be seen, the figures for the year 1852-53 bear little resemblance to either the abstract or the Board of Supervision returns for the same period. For this year, the numbers of inmates in the City poorhouse are given as 416, with 217 pauper lunatics and 1492 outdoor poor, all of which are at variance with the previous statements. In addition to these figures however, there was a printed poor roll, but this merely recorded the number of registered poor receiving relief on a particular date.

The first one was not printed until 1852, and although the preface stated it would be a regular occurrence, no further list was produced until 1860. One a year was then printed until 1884, after which none are available, but all the issues had different items of information, each list containing less, so none were as

21. See p. 181 above.

22. See p. 184 below.

NUMBER OF POOR RELIEVED DURING EACH OF THE YEARS FROM 1852 TO 1862.

	1852-53.	1853-54.	1854-55.	1855-56.	1856-57.	1857-58.	1858-59.	1859-60.	1860-61.	1861-62.
I. In-Door Poor.										
In House at commence- ment of the Year, .	425	416	449	401	360	385	405	428	413	447
Admitted during the Year	731	835	1,156	904	960	1,309	1,493	1,892	2,020	2,357
Dismissed or Died during the Year, .	740	802	1,204	945	935	1,289	1,470	1,907	1,992	2,360
In House at Close of the Year, .	416	449	401	360	385	405	428	413	447	444
II. LUNATICS.										
In Asylums, .	42	76	62	67	66	70	76	92	105	104
In Lunatic Wards, .	163	166	159	139	133	130	120	103	84	85
With relatives or strangers	12	11	18	10	9	11	8	9	8	9
III. Out-Door Poor.										
1. Adults, .	1,072	1,102	1,142	1,244	1,320	1,347	1,388	1,356	1,199	1,075
2. Children, .	420	325	306	305	273	273	258	262	239	224

comprehensive as the one for 1852. This roll was a record of the number of recipients in the City parish on the 30th September 1852, but referred to the permanent poor only and a certain amount of statistical information has been calculated, as will be seen in the appendix.²³ The value of the list lies in illustrating how the inspector assessed the applicants for relief, however, and it was mainly for this reason that a close examination was undertaken. The list which was badly printed and has been further damaged since 1852, did not appear to have been prepared for general circulation, but merely for the information of the Parochial Board members. It was divided into paupers receiving outdoor allowances, those in the poorhouse or asylum, and the children boarded out with guardians. Subsequent lists were also divided in this way, but with none of the details printed on the 1852 roll, they were simply lists of names to indicate who were paupers in the parish.

There were 1931 names on the 1852 list, of whom over 1000 were females, but as Edinburgh has always had a higher proportion of women to men in the population according to the census, it would be expected that the majority of paupers would be females. Approximately 17% of the list, or 361 paupers had received relief prior to 1845, but they would not necessarily have been receiving constant help during the past seven years. Out of the 1931 names, only 28 had no settlement indicated,²⁴ which illustrates how important this item was considered to be, and 1022 did have settlement in Edinburghshire, 946 of which came from the three parishes in the city centre. As

23. See appendix G below.

24. See table 6, appendix G below.

the City parish could obtain no agreement with St. Cuthberts and Canongate to combine into one poor relief authority, an arbitration agreement was arranged, so that disputed settlement cases between the three parishes could be decided in a less expensive manner than by court action, and this operated fairly successfully.

The ages of the paupers²⁵ varied from infants to 92 year olds, and of the adults, nearly half were widows or widowers, so the loss of the marriage partner seemed to be a contributing factor towards destitution and disability. Very little information was given however, for the grounds upon which relief²⁶ had been granted, the most usual comment being a single phrase, 'destitute' for example, with no further details about economic circumstances. Some paupers received help because they were 'weakly', but this could mean any degree of physical or mental illness and whether it was acute, chronic or could be more specifically diagnosed was not indicated.

Social disability was obviously a contributing factor in pauperism, because widows, with or without dependents were given relief, but as 'disability' was never defined, it is difficult to decide which interpretation was most commonly used at any particular period by each of the three inspectors. There were for instance, 7 women on the list who were mentioned as being prostitutes, but whether this was listed as a moral disability or had caused ill health was not indicated. Similarly, the 18 paupers mentioned as 'drunkards' could have been regarded as 'dissolute' characters, or simply 'destitute' because of their intemperate habits.

25. See table 7, appendix G below.

26. See table II, appendix G below.

In addition to widows there were other women who, having no obvious male support were unable to maintain themselves or their dependents, although the absence of children did not exclude women from receiving parish help. Desertion or imprisonment of husbands was regarded as grounds for giving parish relief, but one of the difficulties in calculating statistics for women paupers is the custom of giving two or three surnames. The Scottish marriage laws were very complicated and women could claim married status even though they could not produce a certificate, or 'marriage lines', and the same difficulties applied in any attempt to decide whether children were legitimate or not. Few were actually stated to be bastards on the 1852 list and perhaps the inspector found it difficult to decide whether women applicants were legally married, in so far as the union had been registered.

For 38 paupers on the roll,²⁷ relief had obviously been given for the disability of mental illness, as these were boarded in the asylum at Morningside and called 'lunatics' on the list. Some of the 164 inmates in the east wing of the poorhouse were also suffering from mental illness, but as the insane, fatuous, imbeciles and idiots were all placed in the same part of the institution as the children, it is difficult to estimate how many inmates were mentally ill.

Destitution was by no means absolute before relief was granted,²⁸ for two thirds of the outdoor poor were mentioned as having an occupation, earning between 6d and 14/- a week to augment their

27. See table 3, appendix G below.

28. See table 13, appendix G below.

monetary allowances of between 9d and 6/- a week. Relief may have been given as supplementary benefit, to bolster inadequate earnings, but evidence of self help was not the reason why relief was granted, because one third of the list had no occupations mentioned. The range of work was very wide, varying from shoemakers, tailors to every form of casual labour, but some occupations mentioned may have been previous, not current employment. Ill health or irregular employment affected both the economic circumstances of the poor and their social status, for the progress from poverty to pauperism was often accompanied by more menial employment. This item of information was not included in any subsequent list of poor, yet it was obvious from the minutes that some members of the Parochial Board regarded self help as evidence of respectability. The amount earned by any recipient however, did not appear to have any effect on the amount of relief given, but the fact that some could earn, was evidence that the City Parochial Board did not expect destitution to be absolute.

Although paupers were obviously asked about further sources of income, few of them appear to have divulged the information, but every person receiving outdoor relief, in addition to being asked to state their religion, had been asked whether he or she was a member, or a 'hearer' at any particular church.²⁹ The main reason for this question appears to be the dispute between the Parochial Board and the kirk sessions. Although it was illegal to take voluntary aid into account when deciding how much relief should be granted, a point settled by the court in 1844,³⁰ the information

29. See table 12, appendix G below.

30. C.S. Halliday v Balmaclellan. 11 June, 1844. 6.D.1131.

would indicate to the inspector what other sources of help were being used by the applicant.

There is no evidence that the information was used to estimate how much relief should be given, and paupers did not necessarily give full details on the printed schedule, but if any applicant was a member, or communicant of a church, he was more likely to receive help from the kirk sessions, than a person who simply attended to 'hear the sermon'. Religious affiliation was differently recorded for the inmates of the poorhouse, who were simply asked if they were Protestants or Catholics, although all had to attend the daily service conducted by the Protestant chaplain employed by the Parochial Board, regardless of their religious belief.

From the 1852 poor roll it is apparent that the City inspector had no clear idea of who was entitled to relief, but operated on the priorities which would gain favour with his employers. Applicants with settlement in the City parish, with any degree of disability, and an insufficiency of income, were accepted as entitled to relief. Those with settlement which might be ascertained with little difficulty, or who could be removed to England and Ireland, also seemed to be accepted by the City inspector. The rest of the applications were a much more haphazard affair, perhaps depending on the members of the Claims committee each year, or upon what decisions the inspector considered would be acceptable at any particular time. Having made a decision to accept a claim however, the inspector had then to give appropriate relief, which might bring him into conflict with the Poorhouse committee and its staff. The absence of a comprehensive assessment procedure for each claim,

with no connection between admission of liability and disposal was a problem not resolved until the Parochial Board was a co-ordinated unit, and relief provisions from 1845 to 1859 illustrated the lack of liaison between the sections.



Eden Grove

Bond

TUB SIZED

Chapter 6.Relief Provisions

The 1845 Act allowed two kinds of relief to be given; outdoor allowances to paupers remaining in their own homes, and indoor relief in a poorhouse. Section 69 of the Act stated that any relief given should be adequate, and should include the necessities of life, thereby reaffirming a court decision of 1843,¹ as to what was meant by 'needful sustenance'. Basically this meant an allowance which would prevent hunger or ill health because of the inadequate supply of food or shelter, and in section 70 of the 1845 Act, the additional benefits of clothing, medical attention and education for children were allowed.

The Act did not define 'adequate relief' but gave the Board of Supervision power to investigate complaints of inadequacy, lodged by aggrieved paupers. The latter did not have access to a court of law unless the central Board had previously declared there was just cause for action. Paupers who were dissatisfied with the relief given by a Parochial Board, completed a schedule of complaint, which was either sent direct to the Board of Supervision, or handed to the local inspector to forward. The procedure for investigating complaints was complicated and usually involved a lengthy correspondence between the Board of Supervision and the local inspector. The central Board could not dictate to a Parochial Board about the amount of allowance which should be given, but usually suggested that the monetary aliment be increased, extra provisions supplied in kind,

1. C.S. Pryde v Ceres. 14 February, 1843. 5.D.552.

or perhaps that indoor relief might be more suitable to the complainer and his dependents.

The local Boards were thus guided, but if they refused to comply with the suggestions, the Board of Supervision issued a 'minute to sue' to the complainer. This could be taken to court where the pauper would sue the Parochial Board, being given free legal aid to do so,² and during the court procedure, the Board of Supervision ordered an increased allowance to be paid. Between 1845 and 1894, the central authority issued thirty-two such minutes, though not all were executed and none were issued against the City Board. The latter was threatened on one occasion,³ but like many other Parochial Boards, once it was realised that the central authority would use this power, any suggestions to 'remove the grounds of complaint' were usually accepted, and after 1850, only twelve minutes were necessary for the whole of Scotland, in the next forty-four years.

Between 1845 and 1894, 580 complaints of inadequate relief were lodged with the Board of Supervision from the City parish paupers, but the majority were dismissed, because an offer of poorhouse admission was often sufficient to remove the grounds of complaint. The distribution of these complaints showed that when the new poorhouse opened in 1870, fewer complaints were lodged, as most of them came from the outdoor poor, who were not prepared to risk the curtailment of liberty which poorhouse entry entailed.

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2. J.G. Smith, The Law of Scotland relating to the Poor, (Edinburgh, 1867), p.7.
 3. B.S.M. 28 July, 1847.

Table showing the distribution of complaints of inadequate relief from City parish paupers.

1845-1869:	372	complaints of inadequate relief received.
1870-1894:	208	" " " " "

Conditions within the new poorhouse were regarded as more than adequate by the Board of Supervision, but it was imperative that, if the City Board wished to have the complaints dismissed, that the standards of care in the poorhouse should continue to be approved, and that there should be available space to offer as an alternative to outdoor relief.

It was through the various complaints received that the Board of Supervision defined 'adequate relief', and built up minimum standards of care, below which no Parochial Board was allowed to operate, unless the central authority was unaware of this fact. There were obvious limitations in a situation where the Board of Supervision could not take action unless a complaint had been made, but when the central authority obtained its own inspectorate after 1856, the two General Superintendents and the Visiting Officer could lodge complaints about local arrangements, and the possibility of the defects continuing undetected became remote. The standards of care were altered by the Board of Supervision as changing economic and social conditions affected the lives of the poor, but the basic principles used to assess adequacy of relief could still be applied.

The central Board thought that each pauper should receive the most appropriate help according to the circumstances and "the best guide to the right estimate in any one parish is to be found in the amount of earnings on which an independent labourer of that

parish can maintain himself and his family without parish relief".⁴ Each case of complaint was therefore considered individually and this was a policy which the Board of Supervision expected each Parochial Board to follow. There must be no scale of relief for classes of paupers, although it was soon obvious that the central authority considered certain sections of the pauper population would benefit more from indoor relief, than if given outdoor allowances.

The City Parochial Board could offer either outdoor relief or institutional care in the poorhouse in Forrest Road, but soon discovered that poorhouse provisions were more regulated by the Board of Supervision than outdoor relief.⁵ The Act gave the central authority wide powers regarding the standards required in institutions, partly because poorhouse accommodation was not a common means of providing relief in Scotland. There were only six poorhouses in use in 1845,⁶ (most of them being used as almshouses, and three of these were in Edinburgh), so the legislature⁷ made provisions for any further erection of institutions, allowing Parochial Boards to borrow for the long term capital investment involved. The Board of Supervision controlled the suitability of the site, and approved the plans and management, all of which deterred Parochial Boards from contemplating the provision of indoor relief,⁸ but it

4. B.S.M. 20 May, 1846.

5. B.S.M. 2 December, 1847.

6. B.S.A.R. 1874-75; cf. T. Ferguson, The Dawn of Scottish Social Welfare, (London, 1948), p.212; states 13 poorhouses.

7. 8 and 9. Vic.c.83. section 61; 19 and 20. Vic.c.117; 27 and 28. Vic.c.83.

8. By 1894 there were 66 poorhouses in Scotland. B.S.A.R. 1893-94.

was possible to evade some of the regulations, as the City Board discovered. However, once the defects were known to the central authority, suggested amendments had to be adopted, if the Parochial Board wished to continue offering poorhouse admission as 'adequate relief'.⁹

Outdoor relief was a traditional form of help in Scotland, and the Board of Supervision did not intend that it should be superceded by institutional relief,¹⁰ so continued to sanction its use even in parishes which possessed a poorhouse. However, it was intended that from 1845, both kinds of relief should improve, and this was the purpose of the numerous regulations issued by the Board of Supervision, and the disposal of applications accepted as the entitled poor became an important feature of Parochial Board administration.

The City parish also operated another form of outdoor relief, in which children, lunatics and invalids were boarded out with selected guardians in country parishes. This had been in operation before 1845 and continued to be offered on an extended basis, a special inspector being appointed to deal with this type of assistance. The guardians selected were usually strangers to paupers fostered out, although under certain circumstances, relatives were allowed to be guardians, and given the quarterly allowance towards the boarders maintenance. Relatives were not encouraged to apply as foster guardians, however, partly because of the difficulties of legal liability for paupers, but also because the

9. B.S.M. 12 May, 1848.

10. B.S.M. 20 November, 1845.

Parochial Board had less control over both guardian and boarder, if the former was a blood relative. If strangers were used, the Parochial Board could assume parental responsibility for children, and the guardians chosen had to have other means of support apart from the quarterly allowance paid.

These indoor and outdoor provisions were the basic kinds of relief offered from 1845 to deal with the effects of poverty, but they were further divided in the City parish into what can be regarded as unconditional and remedial relief. These two terms can best be described as the extreme ends of a graduating scale with regard to the amount of supervision given, although all the degrees shade into each other and all can be present in a social service, but it is the emphasis placed on either end of the scale which is important. A change of emphasis indicates an alteration of administrative policy towards the recipient, which has important effects on the number who apply for help.

Unconditional relief is characterised by having virtually no supervision, and is immediate gratification when help is requested. Once assistance has been given, there is no further involvement or responsibility on either side, and no relationship need develop between the administrator and the recipient. The former does not feel obliged to become involved in the life of the recipient, further contact being necessary only when help is again sought. Begging and the giving of alms is unconditional relief in this interpretation, as is assistance provided by a voluntary charity which asks few questions. In the nineteenth century Statutory relief system, the outdoor provisions which operated in the City parish of Edinburgh between 1845 and 1859 was unconditional relief.

Once it was admitted that the applicant was entitled to help, the only contact required was a weekly appearance at the Parochial Board office to claim monetary alimnt, and perhaps relief in kind. The administrator did not feel obliged to give advice or supervise the way in which this help was utilised, nor did the recipient expect any supportive help. He was not required to alter his way of life or conform to any ideas, opinions or values held by the administrator.

Coming up this scale, slightly more involvement was necessary for inmates in the poorhouse, because the offer of total maintenance necessitated some degree of management in order to operate the institution. Rules for order cannot function properly without administrative ability and suitable conditions in which they can be enforced, but as the nineteenth century poorhouse was not a prison, in which inmates could be detained by force, the amount of disciplinary action was limited. As will be shown, the City poorhouse in Forrest Road was not suitable for rigid adherence to rules, so order was largely maintained by mutual agreement between the majority of inmates and the governor in charge, whereby paupers recognised a minimum of rules and were suitably rewarded. Indoor relief was therefore only slightly more supervised than outdoor help and complete supervision was impossible until the administration policy changed.

Whether the administrator laid more stress on unconditional or remedial relief largely depended on two factors. First, the Parochial Board's interpretation of its role, and secondly, the administrative organisation. A relief authority which decided its main role was to deal with the effects of poverty by improving relief conditions without further involvement with the entitled poor, could

give unconditional relief as an adequate provision. All that was required was clerical administration, through which money and relief in kind could be distributed, while those unable to manage as outdoor recipients could be given admission to the poorhouse, which was still regarded as a place of refuge.

In 1845, both unconditional and remedial relief were offered in the City parish, but the Parochial Board emphasis was on unsupervised care, the majority of paupers receiving outdoor allowances. The inspector considered whether a pauper was likely to be a permanent charge on the parish fund, what was the parish of settlement, whether any relatives might be liable, and if poorhouse admission was necessary. The Board of Supervision sanctioned a limited number of pauper inmates in each poorhouse, but whether this limit had been reached, did not at first appear to be taken into consideration by the inspector. It was not however, an important issue if the Parochial Board preferred to offer outdoor assistance to the majority of paupers.

Outdoor paupers received a weekly allowance, collected at the Parochial Board offices in Forrest Road and distributed by numerous clerks, assisted by the two assistant inspectors appointed in 1845. It was suggested that a member of the Parochial Board should also attend the 'pay table', which had been the custom for the Charity workhouse managers, but it was ignored. As the inspectors and clerks frequently complained of the lack of ventilation in both the pay office and the adjoining waiting room, members were reluctant to adopt the suggestion, and in view of the lack of washing facilities in many of the tenements in Edinburgh, their reluctance is understandable. Contact between the payee and the payer was as brief as possible,

neither party wishing to prolong the association and eventually a gauze screen was placed between paupers and officials at the pay desk, in an effort to prevent contact being too close.

The 1852 poor roll¹¹ already referred to, showed that the outdoor poor received monetary allowances of between 9d and 6/- but gave indication of the provision of relief in kind. Personal clothing for both paupers and their dependents, as well as any bedding necessary were given from the nearby poorhouse stores. Clothing and shoes were made by the inmates while bedding materials were purchased in bulk for the use of both indoor and outdoor poor, and from 1846, no second hand materials were bought. Vouchers were given for food or coal but were not limited to certain shops, so paupers could purchase goods at a variety of places. Medicines, cordials and extra items of diet could be obtained from the Parochial Board dispensary by producing the necessary certificate, and the medical officers could give vouchers for further supplies. If illness of either paupers or their dependents was reported at the pay office, the assistant inspectors, after making a visit to the homes, gave the necessary authority to the medical staff, who were then allowed to treat their patients without any further intervention.

Treatment could be given in several ways. The medical officers attended paupers in their own homes, although nursing had to be undertaken by relatives and friends until the 1880's when the Parochial Board was able to utilise the services of the Jubilee nurses for district visiting, paying them a regular donation from the poor fund. Prior to this date, however, the City Board did not employ 'district

11. See table 3, appendix G below.

nurses' for the outdoor poor, and some of the houses were unsuitable for intensive medical treatment. The medical officer arranged for very ill paupers, or those who could not be cared for at home, to be admitted into one of the many voluntary hospitals within the city, and the Parochial Board sent a donation to any hospital assisting in this way. More permanent arrangements were made with the Royal Infirmary, however, and when some members were appointed as representatives on the hospital committee, the Parochial Board benefited from the increased co-operation.

Facilities for the outdoor paupers, suffering from ill health were often superior to those available to the majority of the working class, for few labouring households received regular, free medical attention for the whole family.

Facilities were also available in the poorhouse wards, to which ill paupers could be sent, where a resident physician and visiting surgeon were in attendance. Nursing in this case was done by the matron and any inmates willing to assist her, but arrangements were not ideal, being affected by shortage of staff, limited accommodation, and the incomplete separation between the ordinary wards and those provided for the sick. Despite all these provisions, however, paupers suffering from infectious diseases remained a problem, as voluntary hospitals were reluctant to accept them, so when a cholera epidemic occurred in Edinburgh, the Parochial Board and the Town Council had to make joint arrangements. The City Board usually rented premises in Surgeons Square, opening and closing wards as necessary, and also built temporary sheds within the poorhouse grounds. Some of the extra expenditure involved can be seen on the table in Appendix D,¹² and the complexities of dividing the responsibility

12. See p. 291 below.

and the cost were a further difficulty for the administrative staff.

In some cases, rent and rates were paid by the Parochial Board as part of the outdoor allowance, but the method of payment varied, being either given directly to creditors, or included in the weekly monetary allowance to paupers. The Board of Supervision preferred the latter arrangement, because it gave a certain amount of responsibility to paupers, and was less like the 'truck' system.¹³ Moreover, paupers could negotiate a more equitable rent with landlords than if the Parochial Board guaranteed the rental, and so property rentals were not unduly inflated if paupers found their own shelter. The City Board sometimes changed its procedure, perhaps because of the different interests amongst members each year, some of whom may have been landlords themselves and might have preferred the guaranteed rent system.

The Parochial Board also paid fees for any dependents of paupers, or any children of school age who were paupers in their own right. In many cases, these were paid direct to the school concerned, but parents sometimes received a supplementary allowance to their weekly aliment. As there was no compulsion to send the child to school, the Parochial Board preferred the more direct method of payment, as fees need not then be paid for children who failed to attend. Parents received every encouragement to avail themselves of the educational facilities offered for their children, the City Board being willing to supply clothing and books when necessary, and although the choice of school was left to the parents, the availability of places in the city schools was regularly discussed by members.

13. P.L.M. 1860-61, p. 572.

A school was established in the poorhouse where a teacher was employed to give daily instruction, but the Parochial Board preferred to use the numerous schools within Edinburgh, especially for the children of the outdoor poor. George Heriot's Trust, for example, had many schools in the city, but seemed reluctant to accommodate large numbers of pauper children on the grounds that they would 'degrade those of industrious parents'.¹⁴ After further negotiations, the Trust agreed to consider each application made by the parents on 'merit', but the Parochial Board never thought that George Heriot's Trust gave sufficient help to pauper children, always 'alleging that their outdoor schools were full'.¹⁵ The 1852 list¹⁶ showed that 60 parents had managed to gain entrance for their children, but it was an issue which continued throughout the period and one which was probably intensified by the Parochial Board decision to levy rates on the Trust property.¹⁷

Handicapped children received additional help, the Parochial Board being willing to pay fees or a donation to any of the special schools which catered for the blind, or the deaf and dumb. Edinburgh was well supplied with these facilities and the Parochial Board made full use of Donaldson's Hospital¹⁸ for the deaf, the Blind Asylum,¹⁹ and the school for idiot children, started in Gayfield Square in 1853

14. P.B.M. 2 April, 1847.

15. Edinburgh Courant, 18 October, 1881.

16. See table 9, Appendix G below.

17. C.S. Greig v Heriot's Hospital, 28 March, 1866. 8.P.L.558.

18. Opened 1851.

19. Opened 1876.

by its own chief medical officer, Dr. John Smith.

The outdoor poor were virtually unsupervised, for despite the fact that the majority of applicants received this kind of relief, only two assistant inspectors were appointed. Both Hay and Small were fully occupied in administrative routine, and although the former came into contact with applicants, once the decision to accept the claim and the disposal had been settled, Hay had little further direct association with the paupers. The visiting and investigating duties were assigned to the two assistants, each being placed in charge of half the parish as a district, and the case loads of between 6000 and 8000 persons were too heavy to permit supervised care. Only one of these assistants, John Mackay, had any previous experience with poor relief, having been employed as the paying out clerk to the 'outpensioners' from the Charity workhouse, while Fergusson Smith had previously been employed as a commission agent in Edinburgh.

Each man made a regular report to Hay, keeping a 'journal of events' which seemed to be a daily record of their activities, but as they were expected to investigate claimants for relief, ascertain settlement of paupers and discover details about relatives, neither man could devote much attention to the recipients. Furthermore, the staff had to deal with the numerous dependents of paupers, both the registered poor, and the casual recipients, but as the Parochial Board did not increase the outdoor staff, it did not expect close supervision of paupers. Clerical staff did increase as the Parochial Board emphasised the importance of the office routine, and although all paupers required to be visited at least twice a year by law, this was not considered a very arduous or important task.

A certain amount of visiting must have been done, because the assistant inspectors were required to notify the medical officers when their services were required, and on the 1852 pauper roll,²⁰ there was information regarding the 'state of the dwelling', which was not likely to have been given by paupers themselves. The houses were classified as 'clean, tolerable, or filthy', although whether this was judged on the contents, the presence of vermin, or dirt, is not indicated. The comments did not appear to have any effect on the amount of relief given, for many of the 190 tolerably clean houses received much the same monetary allowances as the 84 in filthy dwellings. The information may have been used in deciding whether ill paupers could be cared for at home or not, or perhaps the assistant inspectors used it for future reference when compiling their visiting list.

The cleanliness of the city was not a Parochial Board responsibility at all, but the duty of the Town Council, Commissioners of Police, Health Boards and other ad hoc bodies. The Parochial Board certainly intimated to these authorities that certain areas required attention, although little was achieved until Littlejohn²¹ was appointed in 1862. The fact that the information was recorded in 1852 however, indicates that the Parochial Board was interested in the conditions of the poor long before the 1860's, when it became a matter for general concern, and the staff must have visited some of the houses, because both assistant inspectors, and two medical

20. See table 5, Appendix G below.

21. Dr. Henry Littlejohn, first Medical Officer of Health for Edinburgh.

officers died of fever contracted during their duties. To be an outdoor employee of the Parochial Board in nineteenth century Edinburgh, was attended by considerable risk, which was obviously appreciated later by the City Board when it began to pay insurance premiums for the inspector's staff. As the assistant inspectors were well acquainted with tenement conditions which existed, however, for a dwelling to be mentioned as 'filthy', it must have been in a deplorable state, and perhaps a place to be avoided in their visiting duties. Under the prevailing conditions in the congested old town, infection spread rapidly, and not only increased the health risk to staff and affected Parochial Board current expenditure, but also had an effect on future commitments. The death of a wage earner soon reduced families to destitution, a fact which was underlined when the two assistant inspectors died, and the effects of any epidemic caused an increase in the pauper roll for many years to come. To prevent the assistant inspectors families becoming paupers, the Parochial Board gave each of them a 'gratuity', thereby acknowledging the premature deaths had been caused by close contact with the City parish poor.

The 1852 list showed that the majority of the outdoor poor lived in the crowded tenements of the old town, 269 for instance, living around the High Street alone. Many lived in areas where the rents were lowest, the housing later condemned by Littlejohn in his report in 1865 as being overcrowded, insanitary, and breeding grounds of disease.²² The Parochial Board was well aware of the

22. Dr. H. Littlejohn, Report on the Sanitary Condition of the City of Edinburgh, (Edinburgh, 1865), p.40.

housing conditions of the poor long before this report, however, for apart from the information on the 1852 list, Thorburn had previously mentioned it in his analysis of the census in 1851.

"Shelter is the grand and preponderating condition of health and longevity in Edinburgh", he stated, and his figures showed that the mortality amongst the one to five year olds was about 40% in the old town, compared to 18% in the new. He thought that this might be partly due to the 'ignorance, the carelessness, and the intemperance of mothers', but it was largely due to the 'unhappy condition of the dwellings', where there was a 'complete absence of light, fresh air, cleanliness and ventilation',²³ all of which increased the incidence of cholera and fever. He had originally been employed as an assistant inspector in the City parish, so was probably well acquainted with the conditions he described.

Nevertheless, the Parochial Board continued to offer the majority of paupers outdoor relief, and even condoned the taking in of lodgers by 18 paupers, according to the 1852 list.²⁴ This was taken as evidence of self help, but it increased the overcrowding already present for the pauper family. It was one way of augmenting their relief allowances, (as was true for any earnings recorded on the 1852 list), but it did not improve the conditions under which they lived.

The incomes of the paupers as shown on the 1852 list were the amounts they chose to disclose, but the list did not indicate if any

23. T. Thorburn, Statistical analysis of the 1851 census for the City of Edinburgh, (Edinburgh, 1851), pp.8-10.

24. See table 13, appendix G below.

other sources of income were taken into consideration when estimating the amount of monetary relief provided. There were 27 men for example who each received 1/- a week relief, of whom 7 had not disclosed any other earnings, but the remaining 20 said they earned between 6d and 6/- a week, yet all received the same amount from the Parochial Board. Complete information about the individual circumstances of each pauper on the list was lacking however, so it is impossible to estimate if the allowances received fluctuated according to the number of dependents, or any other relevant circumstance, and the amount of relief in kind was not recorded.

The Parochial Board had no way of checking the information given in each application, unless more staff had been employed for this purpose, but even when given certain items the members did not appear to dispute the decision to grant relief. There was one man on the list for instance, who earned 5/- a week as a 'genteel beggar', yet begging was a punishable offence and one which the Parochial Board should not have been encouraging. He received 2/- a week relief, which suggests that the scrutiny of applications was not very thorough, and the whole assessment procedure of claims as well as the award of relief must have been a haphazard affair. Outdoor relief was very unconditional in the City parish.

The amount of supervision given to inmates in the City parish poorhouse depended upon age and mental health, because children and lunatics did receive remedial care.²⁵ For the rest of the inmates indoor relief can only be described as a little more supervised than

25. See chapter 7 below.

was offered to the outdoor recipients. Admission to the poorhouse was an offer of total maintenance and the institution could not operate without some attempt to regulate the lives of the inmates. The Parochial Board submitted rules for the management of the poorhouse to the Board of Supervision in 1846²⁶ and it appeared that strict discipline would be enforced. The central authority approved the rules with alacrity, recommending them to any parish asking advice about the correct way of operating a poorhouse. They were frequently revised by the City Board, all the amendments receiving central authority sanction, but the regulations to give supervised relief to all the inmates were impossible to apply, although the Board of Supervision was unaware of the fact until 1859, when its own inspector informed it of the defects.

The City poorhouse was an old eighteenth century building, designed as a three storey mansionhouse, separated from Forrest Road²⁷ by a low fence with an attractive tree lined approach.²⁸ Originally it had been one large complex, but was split into two wings when the connecting road with the new town was built between 1827 and 1831 and it continued to be used as divided accommodation after 1845. The east wing, parts of which were known as Darien House and Bedlam, was supposed to be used for children, and the mentally ill who were not classed as lunatics requiring more restrictive care in the asylum. The west wing, which was the main block, was used as offices and to house the physically sick and the 'ordinary' inmates.

26. See copy in end paper.

27. See map p. 161 above.

28. Etching, H. Arnott, History of Edinburgh, (Edinburgh, 1816), p.555.

The structural division caused administrative problems because the governor had to delegate responsibility to a deputy for the east wing. Strict separation between the 'ordinary' inmates, children and the mentally ill was not maintained, paupers being placed where ever space was available, and in addition, it was Parochial Board practice to admit certain persons as inmates who were prepared to pay for their board.²⁹ This had been the custom when the premises were the Charity workhouse, and entry was regarded as a privilege, and it was not until 1853 that the Poorhouse committee decided to reduce the numbers of 'boarders'. Many of the old customs were perpetuated after 1845 because the City Board did not appreciate that the poorhouse could not be managed as an almshouse, or place of refuge, and the rules appeared to be a device to placate the Board of Supervision, as well as a means of ensuring that an offer of poorhouse entry was 'adequate relief'.

The Board of Supervision required improvements in sanitation, ventilation and amenities, all of which the Parochial Board discovered were a constant expense. In spite of the numerous alterations, deficiencies remained, one of them being the acute shortage of water as baths, water closets and laundry facilities were provided. However, if water was available at all, it was an improvement on many houses in Edinburgh, and the provision of a weatherproof dwelling with the minimum sanitary facilities could be regarded as improved relief for the City parish poor.

On admission, each inmate received a full set of clothing, similar to the uniform worn by the Charity workhouse

29. P.B.M. 4 January, 1850.

inmates,³⁰ as the Parochial Board continued to order supplies of the blue cloth, moleskin and check plaids³¹ from which the clothing was made by the inmates. In the 1850's however, a wider variety of materials was purchased and from the accounts it appears that the cloth was of good quality, liberal quantity and properly manufactured under the guidance of a tailor employed full time in the poorhouse. It was essential that inmates were given clean clothing on admission as well as a bath, and precautions were taken to reduce the lice and dirt introduced into the poorhouse by the paupers, although better results would have been obtained if more accommodation and washing facilities had been provided.

Indoor relief was an offer of total maintenance, and the provision of clothing and food were expensive items. Each inmate received three meals a day, the diet being well above the minimum requirements suggested by the Board of Supervision, and changes were made during the period to conform to the habits of the labouring class. When buttermilk was no longer in general use by working families in the 1860's, for example, it was no longer bought for the City poorhouse, and the food seemed to be well cooked, of good quality, sufficient quantity and compared favourably with current working class standards.³² At least it was regularly provided, a point not always possible in the homes of 'independent labourers',³³

30. See photographic copies of the dress worn by adults and children inmates of the Charity workhouse, 1840's, appendix H below.

31. See p. 211 below.

32. P.L.M. 1870-71, p. 353.

33. See p. 198⁻⁴ above.

TO CONTRACTORS.

THE PAROCHIAL BOARD OF EDINBURGH wishes to receive offers to Supply the **POOR'S HOUSE** under its charge, for twelve months, from 1st January to 31st December 1848, with the following **ARTICLES** and Quantities, less or more:—

70,000 Scots Pints **CHURNED MILK**.

200 Pairs **BLANKETS**.

2,000 Yards **BED TICK**.

2,000 Yards **SHEETING**.

4,200 Yards **DOWLAS**.

2,000 Yards **CALICO**.

2,460 Yards **DRUGGET**.

2,000 Yards **CHECK** and **PRINT**.

2,300 Yards **PLAIDING**.

400 **STRAW BONNETS**, for Girls.

400 **GLENGARRY BONNETS**, for Boys.

15 Dozen **POCKET HANDKERCHIEFS**.

400 **SHAWLS** for Girls, various Patterns.

785 Yards **BLUE CLOTH**.

1,500 Yards **MOLESKIN**.

550 Yards **FUSTIAN**.

1,800 Pairs **WOMEN'S, MEN'S. and CHILDREN'S SHOES**.

130 Spindles **WORSTED**—Alloa Yarn.

160 lbs. **THREAD**, Black, White, and Grey.

COFFINS for Adults, and for Children under 12 years of age.

Specimens of the Clothing may be seen in possession of Mr Robert Smith, the House Governor, by whom all particulars will be given. Offers, sealed and marked outside, must be lodged with the Subscriber here on or before Thursday the 30th December, at Eleven o'clock forenoon; and every article contracted for must be furnished in exact conformity with the specimens above referred to, otherwise the goods will be rejected.

The Board does not hold itself bound to accept of the lowest offer.

All Goods must be delivered at the Workhouse, free of expense, in such quantities, and at such times as may be fixed by the House Governor.

Offers are also Wanted for the whole **DUNG** or **FULZIE**, for **BONES**, and for the **REFUSE** of the Kitchen, for the same period.

JOHN HAY, Inspector.

Office of Parochial Board, Forrest Road, 10t Dec. 1847.

and as there were no recorded complaints about diet until 1857,³⁴ the majority of inmates appeared to be satisfied. Minimum diet could be supplemented if inmates were willing to participate in the various employments offered in the poorhouse, or by extras brought into the institution by pauper visitors, ladies from charitable societies, or even by paupers themselves.

Regular mealtimes were about the only formal timekeeping required by inmates, but in a newspaper report in 1864, it was stated that "rations were despatched within ten to fifteen minutes, for the inmates feed rather than dine".³⁵ The reporter would have found similar habits in many working class homes, where mealtimes satisfied bodily requirements rather than provided social occasions, and many clerks were used to eating their meals while still at their desks. The press report also commented that Roman Catholic inmates were not given a choice of food on Fridays, but that few refused the meat offered. As the alternative was bread and milk, or bread and small beer, inmates perhaps preferred to subdue their religious scruples rather than suffer the pangs of hunger, but the newspaper report did not induce the City Parochial Board to offer a special diet for what it considered a 'minority sect'.

There was no organised regular work within the poorhouse, for unlike the English workhouse system, Scottish institutions did not have to cater for the able bodied, so labour tests for eligibility were unnecessary. During the day inmates were free to remain in

34. B.S.M. 31 December, 1857. Complaint dismissed.

35. Scotsman 27 August, 1864.

their dormitories, wander around the grounds, or undertake the duties offered in the poorhouse. A certain amount of household routine was available, washing, cleaning, kitchen work and so forth, as well as employment in making clothing, repairing and making shoes, sewing, knitting, or work on a printing press in the 1850's. Inmates were not forced to work, however, and if they did, they received no money payment, but were given extra privileges and benefits as an inducement. As time hung heavy when idle, and as extra comforts could be obtained to make life more tolerable, some inmates willingly participated in the employment offered.

On the 1852 list³⁶ previously mentioned, 277 inmates or 48% worked in the institution or in the City Board offices nearby, for which they received payment in kind. The additional supplies of tea, tobacco, snuff or increased diet were no doubt very acceptable, but as all the inmates intermingled, this privilege could give rise to jealousy and theft. It was thought that the provision of incentives to some inmates would encourage others to participate,³⁷ but as long as inmates were allowed to bring items into the poorhouse, or receive articles from visitors, the system of rewards did not operate to the administration's advantage. The Parochial Board encouraged self help amongst all paupers, but the offer of work in the poorhouse had an additional advantage. It reduced the numbers of paid staff necessary, as long as the work was virtually unsupervised or undertaken willingly, and if rewarded by extra items to make institutional life more comfortable, it was one way of encouraging

36. See table 13, appendix G below.

37. P.L.M. 1875, p.15.

good behaviour amongst the inmates. The system was undermined, however, if unauthorised goods were brought into the poorhouse, and this could only be prevented if there was some restriction on liberty, and a lodge gate where a check could be made.

The rules so carefully prepared in 1846 stated that inmates would only be allowed to leave the poorhouse on set 'liberty days', at the discretion of the governor, but when Smith tried to enforce this in 1849, as well as restrict visiting to one day a week, he discovered it was impossible, and only increased the numbers of those who took unauthorised leave. There was no boundary wall round the poorhouse, none having been necessary before 1845 when admission to the institution was regarded as a privilege, and although a low wall was built in 1856, this was merely to separate the Parochial Board's property from the adjoining churchyard, and inmates could continue to enter and leave the poorhouse with relative ease. Smith could not restrict the liberty of inmates by compulsory detention because this was not allowed by the Board of Supervision, nor could he properly apply the rules, but to add to his difficulties, he had to cope with the 'absconders' who took unauthorised leave, often taking poorhouse property with them.

Disposal of articles was easy enough, for the nearby Grassmarket was an ideal place to exchange goods for money and was an area with which many inmates were well acquainted. Once the money was finished, the pauper could return to the poorhouse, or re-apply at the inspector's office, and being again destitute, was entitled to relief. This was a problem of which many Parochial Boards complained, but the Board of Supervision could offer no satisfactory solution.³⁸ Only

38. B.S.M. 24 February, 1859.

a certain amount of punishment was permitted in the poorhouse for any inmates who misbehaved, and with only one 'cell' in the City poorhouse, the governor's disciplinary actions were restricted. Solitary confinement of up to six hours a day was permitted, and the offender could be given menial tasks to perform along with the loss of privileges, but the governor could not remove these unless they had previously been granted to the inmate. The central authority could only suggest that the inspector prosecuted the offenders for theft, but this was difficult to achieve. The absconder from the City poorhouse did not have far to travel with the goods and the inspector could not prosecute unless theft could be proved. To catch the offender 'in possession' was easier said than done, and could only be achieved if there was a system of search at the lodge gate.

Even if inmates returned without the clothing issued to them on admission, claiming theft by 'persons unknown', the inspector could not take action unless he could prove that the pauper had actually sold the articles. The governor tried to give the returning pauper the minimum diet allowed by the Board of Supervision, but with little supervision in the large dining hall, this was virtually impossible. Disciplinary action did not deter the repetition of the offence, and the lack of accommodation made it difficult for the governor to isolate, or even segregate inmates who had taken unauthorised leave, or behaved badly.

The short stay inmates were another problem. These were commonly known as the 'ins and outs', those who entered and left the poorhouse frequently, yet all of them had to be provided with clothing on each admission. The majority had no fixed address,

so could not be given outdoor relief where they would have been less trouble at less expense. According to the rules, inmates had to give twenty-four hours notice of their intended departure or else be regarded as absconders. Whether outdoor relief was subsequently granted was a matter for the inspector or the Claims committee to decide, as the pauper had no right to demand outdoor assistance as an alternative to the offer of poorhouse accommodation. The short stay inmates therefore presented a problem, one which was aggravated by the lack of control over any inmates who misbehaved, and with so many difficulties in managing the poorhouse, neither the governor or the Poorhouse committee wanted large numbers of unruly inmates, who could easily disrupt the governor's tenuous hold. Consequently, deviant paupers were discharged from the poorhouse and the inspector was expected to provide outdoor relief. In 1848, for example, James Blackhill was dismissed from the poorhouse by the governor for 'taking liberties with a female inmate',³⁹ but the Claims committee refused to provide outdoor relief, because at that time, it was strongly disputing the authority of the Poorhouse committee. Blackhill was therefore returned to the poorhouse, to the annoyance of the governor, but the poorhouse management had more success on other occasions when inmates were dismissed.

On the 1852 list⁴⁰ for instance, Samuel Moffat, a married man of 61 years of age, was mentioned as a well behaved inmate of the poorhouse, but he had previously complained to the Board of Supervision in February 1852, that as an outdoor recipient, his allowance was

39. P.B.M. 6 September, 1848.

40. See table 10, appendix G below.

inadequate. He was offered poorhouse admission instead, which he had obviously accepted, but within a few months of the list being printed, he was discharged by the governor for 'insolent behaviour'. He was again placed on the outdoor roll but did not appear to make any further complaint. This kind of unco-ordinated procedure between committees and the fact that an unruly inmate might be able to obtain outdoor relief, undermined the governor's authority, and as outdoor relief was virtually unsupervised, with no restriction on freedom, it was naturally preferred by the paupers. Perhaps this disciplinary problem was why 538 inmates were classed as 'well behaved' on the 1852 list with only 36 'badly behaved', as compared with the 124 so recorded in the outdoor section. The governor had neither the facilities nor the staff to cope with large numbers of unwilling inmates, and sometimes the inspector co-operated with him.

In 1855, for example, Jane Shaw complained to the central authority that her outdoor relief was insufficient, but the complaint was dismissed, not because she was offered poorhouse admission instead. The Board of Supervision did not expect the Parochial Board to 'remove the grounds of complaint' in this case, because she had already been admitted to the City parish institution eighteen times, and been discharged each time, because of her 'unruly conduct' and the inspector had given outdoor relief instead. The Board of Supervision agreed with the inspector that she was 'unfit to be an inmate', and whatever the amount of her outdoor allowance, it was quite adequate, so the complaint was dismissed.⁴¹

⁴¹. P.M.B. 6 August, 1855.

In making a decision regarding the kind of relief to offer any pauper, the inspector had to consider the limitations in the poorhouse, and also whether the pauper would require temporary assistance. As poorhouse relief was more expensive, it was uneconomical to offer it to Irish families, for example, who were awaiting removal home. In addition to being less expensive, the grant of a small outdoor allowance might prove beneficial to the administration, because Irish paupers were reluctant to return home, and often disappeared from the City parish instead. On the 1852 list⁴² there were only 29 Irish inmates, 5% of the roll, compared with 136 receiving outdoor allowances, but the total number of Irish paupers was remarkably small due to the Parochial Board's policy of removing paupers with no settlement in Scotland as quickly as possible. From 1848, the City Board had notices printed regularly, warning claimants of the consequences of applying for relief if they had no settlement in the City parish and it appeared to be no idle threat.

From 1845, indoor relief was virtually unsupervised in the City poorhouse and was certainly appreciated by the majority of inmates. When Smith retired in 1857, they presented him with a gold pencil, although as 'destitute' and entitled to relief, not working for wages in the institution, they should not have possessed the means of purchasing such a handsome gift. With Smith's retirement, however, the Parochial Board was able to introduce more stringent procedure into the poorhouse, having realised by this time that unconditional relief was not to the administrative advantage. Daniel Kemp was

42. See table 6, appendix G below.

partially successful, but was hampered by the structural limitations in the poorhouse, and neither close supervision or the application of the poorhouse rules for management was possible unless the building was radically altered.

With his approval, therefore, a stone wall was built around the poorhouse, intersected by lodge gates where porters were employed to carry out a diligent search and prevent irregular entry or egress. Although the barrier rose to fifteen feet high in some parts, it proved no deterrent to the determined leaver, which suggests that some inmates were not physically disabled. Absconding over the wall continued, for although the inspector gave no figures, the matter was frequently mentioned in the Poorhouse committee minutes, particularly when the absconder had taken poorhouse property. Kemp reported in 1866 that twenty-three inmates had left that year, taking goods to the value of £34.10/- and the only one who had returned, Jane Whyte, had been found drunk at the gate, with 7/6 in her possession, which he confiscated.

Kemp also introduced the 'probationary ward' system into the poorhouse, whereby paupers were admitted into a separate ward, where they could be cleansed and medically examined before they entered the main block. This proved to be an advantage and was later to be incorporated into the new poorhouse plans. He also insisted that he attended the Claims committee meetings, where decisions were taken on how relief should be afforded, but his efforts to execute the Parochial Board's increased emphasis on supervised care were hampered by the structural limitations of the old premises. Furthermore, not all the members were convinced that changes were necessary in the relief system, but the Board of Supervision's inspector

reported serious defects in the arrangements in 1859.

The poorhouse was overcrowded, had structural defects and a laxity of rules with which the Board of Supervision did not agree, and the damaging report had the effect of consolidating the membership of the City Parochial Board. The poorhouse was extensively altered but it became increasingly obvious that the whole administrative procedure regarding entitlement to relief and disposal of paupers required to be a co-ordinated process, because the problems at the poorhouse still remained. By 1860, the Parochial Board had decided that more supervised care should be given to all paupers in the parish but this was not an entirely new procedure, because a certain amount of remedial care had existed from 1845. By 1860, however, the Parochial Board realised that it could be extended to all recipients, with beneficial results.

Chapter 7.

Remedial Relief.

The direct opposite to unconditional relief is remedial assistance, a process of long term involvement on a supportive casework basis, in which the administrator feels obliged to shoulder more responsibility for the recipient. It is thought quite inadequate to give material help alone, because the recipient requires some advice, education, and training, in order to make the best use of any help offered. In the nineteenth century, the policy of rehabilitating the paupers was directed at the cause of poverty, not simply its effects, because it was thought that the paupers former way of life was responsible for his destitution and distress. Remedial relief was therefore necessary to prevent the same need arising again, so it was a policy emphasised by a Parochial Board which had interpreted its role as that of an educator. To give advice on how relief was used, required considerable administrative organisation, and members had to be willing to increase their own involvement as well as to increase the number of employees, in order to give more attention to recipients. If the administrators were prepared to offer an advisory service, however, paupers had to participate in the scheme by altering their ways of life, and adopting standards which the administrators thought were beneficial. Not all recipients would be willing to conform, so the administrative procedure had to be able to deal with any opposition, not by refusing any help at all to the entitled poor, but by supervising both indoor and outdoor relief.

From 1845 there were two categories of paupers over whom the

City Parochial Board was required to exercise more control, for neither children nor lunatics could be given unsupervised help. According to section 59 of the 1845 Act, lunatic paupers were entitled to relief because of their 'disability', and diminished responsibility. They could be detained in the poorhouse, or the Board of Supervision could direct their removal to an asylum, but where they were placed depended upon their degree of instability, and diminished responsibility. They could be detained in the poorhouse, or the Board of Supervision could direct their removal to an asylum, but where they were placed depended upon their degree of instability and the available accommodation.

One of the difficulties was the acute shortage of asylum accommodation, and very few parishes in Scotland had the City Board's easy access to an established institution, such as existed at Morningside. A further difficulty, however, was the definition of the term 'lunacy', which the Act referred to as the 'insane and fatuous'.

Insanity was a term used very loosely and could include any form of mental illness, or any degree of deviant behaviour. Imbeciles, idiots and eccentrics could all be classed as lunatics, depending on medical or legal decision, community tolerance, or even the opinion of a local official. The intemperate, perhaps suffering from delirium tremens, could be classed as insane, fatuous, or simply as 'of dissipated habits', and the medical profession did not help to clarify the position. In 1845, they lacked professional cohesion, and possessed neither the knowledge, nor the terminology, to apply the differential diagnostic techniques to physical illness, let alone mental health.

As therapeutic treatment of the mentally ill was not widely used in the nineteenth century, methods of restraint varied from barred windows and locked doors, to the application of a strait jacket, or cerebral plasters, in an effort to 'reduce excitement'. Generally, the less violent mentally ill paupers in the City parish were detained in the east wing of the poorhouse in Forrest Road, but if no space was available at any time, they were housed amongst the 'ordinary inmates' in the west division. Lunatic paupers who could not be supervised in the poorhouse were sent to the asylum at Morningside, the Parochial Board paying the required charge, but because of a previous agreement between the asylum and the Town Council, pauper lunatics were accepted at a reduced rate of board.¹ On the 1852 list,² only 38 pauper lunatics were in the asylum, the remainder of the mentally ill being housed in the east wing of the poorhouse, and the Board of Supervision was well aware of the unsatisfactory arrangements. In 1848, it had investigated a complaint from one of the female inmates, regarding the rough treatment she had received during an epileptic fit, but this was dismissed because the City Board agreed to transfer her to the west wing.³ The central authority suggested, however, that the windows in the lunatic wards should be replaced with opaque glass to prevent the inmates being seen by the children in the exercise yards, but did not either demand a more rigid segregation of inmates,

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1. Town Council contributed £4,430 towards the building of the asylum in 1841; Parish Council minutes, 18 November, 1895.
 2. See table 3, appendix G below.
 3. P.B.M. 12 June, 1848.

or that an increased number of the mentally ill should be placed in the asylum.

Provisions made by the City Parochial Board after 1845 were complicated by the requirements of the Lunacy Act in 1857.⁴ Central control passed from the Board of Supervision to another new authority, the Board of Lunacy, although local arrangements remained the responsibility of the Parochial Boards. The Board of Lunacy not only devised elaborate regulations for the care of pauper lunatics, but also gave a wide and confusing definition to the term itself. Henceforth, lunatics had to be certified by qualified medical officers, who received a fee, and many critics considered this payment was the main reason why the numbers of lunatics in Scotland showed a yearly increase.⁵ Under the new regulations more asylums were built to which Parochial Boards were required to send the more severe cases of lunacy, but medical opinion was still divided upon the criteria to be used.

The Board of Lunacy also permitted some pauper lunatics to be placed in the poorhouse, but a special licence had to be obtained from the central authority and the premises were strictly supervised by the Board of Lunacy's inspector. The Board of Supervision refused to allow large numbers of pauper lunatics to be admitted into the poorhouse, because this reduced the amount of space available for ordinary paupers, and in any case, to satisfy the Board of Lunacy requirements for even a small number of pauper lunatics, meant the provision of extra accommodation in the poorhouse. The east wing

4. 20 and 21. Vic.c.71.

5. Association of Poorhouse Governors minutes, 1870.

of the City poorhouse was frequently altered as the Parochial Board tried to placate the two central authorities, and increased numbers of pauper lunatics were sent to the asylum. Under the new regulations, however, asylums were attempting to provide more curative care, and were no longer prepared to admit large numbers of chronically ill patients, preferring to accept those who would respond favourably to treatment, so that the statistics would show a steady increase in patients discharged as cured. In addition, Morningside asylum authorities did not want the wards full of pauper patients at a reduced rate of board, when there were plenty of patients available who would pay the full charge.

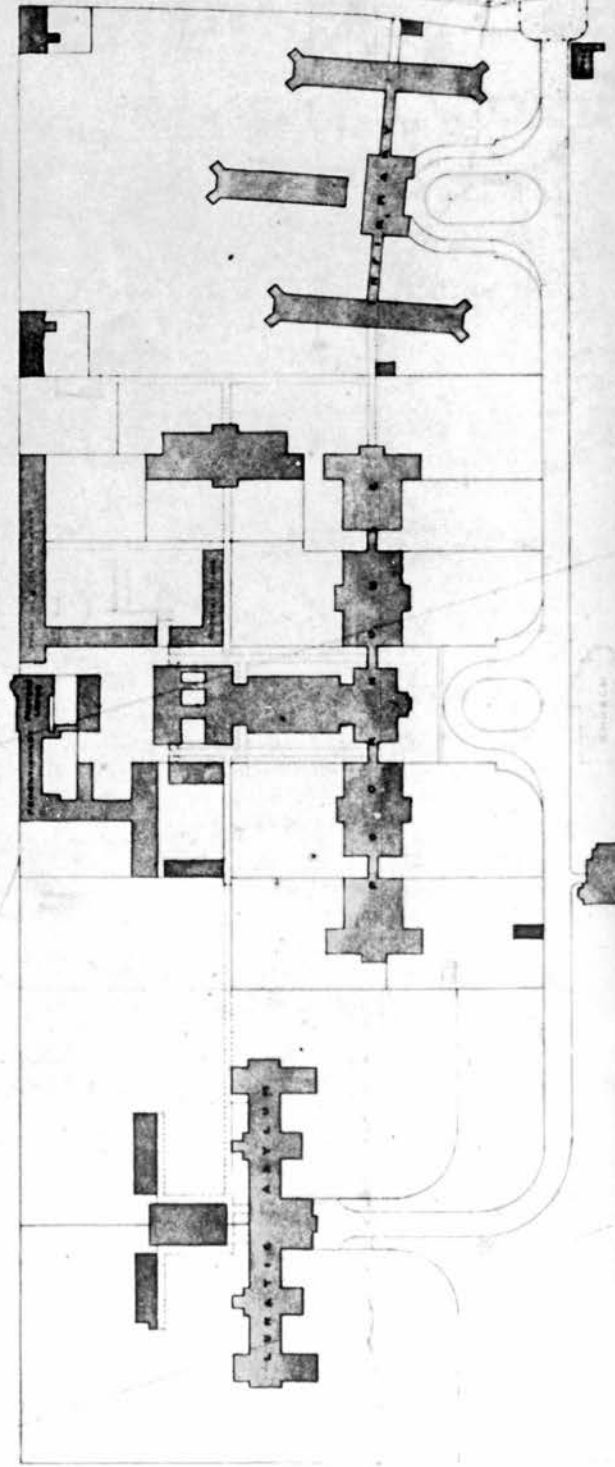
The asylum therefore increased its boarding charges, and the Parochial Board tried to enforce the previous agreement, but was unsuccessful. In order to increase the accommodation in the east wing, the City Board extended its practice of boarding certain pauper lunatics with selected guardians, on a similar basis to that used for children. From 1857, however, the Board of Lunacy demanded more provisions for any pauper lunatics detained in a poorhouse, particularly the provision of work and exercise as a form of occupational therapy. By the 1860's, the remedial care extended to pauper lunatics had become an increasing expense, and when plans were made to build a new poorhouse, the Parochial Board decided to provide its own asylum within the grounds. Although originally approved on the plans in 1866,⁶ the Board of Supervision changed its opinion, deciding that the inclusion of an asylum within the poorhouse grounds would interfere with the 'model

6. See p. 226 below.

Copy of the original plan for the poorhouse at
Craiglockhart, showing the lunatic asylum and the
hospital wards, placed on either side of the main
building.

PLAN AND SECTIONS OF SITE OF **PROPOSED NEW CITY PARISH POORHOUSE** AT **CRAIGLOCKHART.**

Contents Imp Acres 36.517



Edward Innes
W. M. M. M. M.

This is One of the Plans referred to in my London
of date 26th December 1866, and Minute of Agreement
of March 1867, to execute the Excavations,
Drainage, Mason, & Brick Work.
W. M. M. M. M.

This is One of the Plans referred to in our London of
26th December 1866 and Minute of Agreement of
March 1867 to execute the Carpenter, Joiner & Lather Work.
W. M. M. M. M.

This is one of the Plans referred to in my London of date
26th December 1866 & Minute of Agreement of
March 1867 to execute the Plaster Work, Milling, & Masonry.

This is One of the Plans referred to in my London of date
26th December 1866 and Minute of Agreement of
March 1867 to execute the Slat Work, Mill, & Carpenter.

This is One of the Plans referred to in my London of date
10th December 1866 and Minute of Agreement of
March 1867 to execute the Slag Work, Mill, & Carpenter.

This is one of the Plans referred to in London of date
26th December 1866 & Minute of Agreement of
March 1867 to execute the Iron Work.

James Young & Co.

John A. Wilson
Ground and Iron
Standing &

classification system' for ordinary inmates, devised by the City Board. The latter, having already discovered that the poorhouse would be a more expensive project than originally intended, did not dispute the central authority's opinion, and incorporated specially licenced wards for a limited number of pauper lunatics in the main premises.

The Board of Lunacy approved these arrangements because there was ample employment for patients on the large estate purchased for the poorhouse, and it also supported the increased use made by the City Board of the boarding out scheme. Under the close supervision arrangements introduced by George Greig from 1859, the scheme proved most successful, and when he retired in 1894, the General Board of Lunacy sent a letter of appreciation for his efforts in furthering this beneficial system for the mentally ill.⁷ By 1884, there were 1051 pauper lunatics boarded in the asylum, 69 detained in the poorhouse wards and a further 63 boarded out with relatives and guardians in private houses, but the expenditure involved appeared to be a controversial issue.

Supervised relief for pauper lunatics was required because of their diminished responsibility, and the inspector was appointed legal curator for their property and affairs. To some extent, the same was true for children, especially those without parents, who because of the disabilities of youth, required supervision by the Parochial Board, which assumed parental responsibility. Orphans and deserted children were classed as the entitled poor, or paupers in their own right, because they were both destitute and disabled.

7. P.L.M. 1895, p.500.

Children separated from their parents could also become wards of the Parochial Board, although this was more difficult and the grounds for separation had to be properly established. Neglect, or evil influence, (what would be termed children at risk, today), could be the means of separating parent and child, but there was always the possibility that a parent might seek redress in court to be united with the child.

In addition to orphans, deserted or separated children, the Parochial Board could also assume parental responsibility for children brought before magistrates. Under the Industrial School Acts,⁸ these offenders could be sent to training schools, or given in charge of the inspector of poor, and with four nominees from the magistrates on the City Board, the latter method was more commonly used. A certain amount of co-operation was established between the police, the court, and the Parochial Board, regarding the disposal of these delinquent children, and the City inspector was usually notified of any case, for which he then assumed responsibility, separating the children from their parents.

Apart from these categories of children, who were known as 'paupers in their own right', the Parochial Board gave assistance to dependent children of paupers, but in these cases, full control was more difficult to establish. There were three possible methods of disposal for all children, however; relief in the poorhouse, or as an outdoor recipient, or fostered out to selected guardians. All three methods were in operation in the City parish prior to 1845, although the boarding out scheme was largely used for children without

8. 17 and 18. Vic.c.74; 29 and 30. Vic.c.118.

parents. From 1845 this system was extended to include not only the children separated from their parents, but also the dependents of paupers who received both indoor and outdoor relief.

It was extended with caution, however, the Parochial Board initially confining its supervision to children who were paupers in their own right, and the 1852 list⁹ showed that 362 children were boarded out with foster parents and a special inspector was appointed to supervise their care. William Matheson appeared to take his duties very seriously, visiting the homes frequently, then making regular reports to the Parochial Board on the health, welfare and educational progress of each child. Foster parents could be compelled to send the children to school, or else lose their quarterly allowance, and the whole scheme was more supervised than any other method of disposal for children. It was then extended to delinquent children, although the 1852 list¹⁰ showed that 5 parents had been allowed to keep their children at home, but were required to send them to the industrial school in Edinburgh each day. It was more difficult to extend the scheme to the dependents of paupers, but one method was to offer indoor relief to the whole family, with the intention of fostering the children at a subsequent date. Alternatively, the parents were offered outdoor relief, but it was suggested that the children were sent to foster homes in country parishes, the Parochial Board paying for their maintenance.

The City Board was reluctant to place large numbers of children in the poorhouse, where they increased the administrative difficulties;

9. See table 3, appendix G below.

10. See table 9, appendix G below.

neither did the Board consider that institutional care was a normal environment for the young. Family life was regarded by the Victorians as the basis of normal society, and must not be allowed to diminish in status or value, so even in 1852, the majority of children were boarded out, with only 65 in the poorhouse and another 30 receiving outdoor relief. The latter were children whose parents were ill or in prison, and were being cared for by relatives or friends, while those in the poorhouse were either too young to be boarded out, or required hospital attention in the sick wards.

The Parochial Board believed that the boarding out scheme was of great benefit to a child, as well as being more satisfying from an administrative point of view. Apart from the advantages of a rural environment, infinitely preferable to the overcrowded living quarters within the city, the child had the benefit of family life. Normal ties were established as the child took part in the family routine, learning household duties and the means of future self support. In addition, each child went to school, and the training received, helped the child to earn its own support in future. The Parochial Board thought that the recurrent cycle of pauperism, found in successive generations amongst recipients, could be broken if this training and supervision was offered, with the result that the incidence of future pauperism would decrease.

Greig favoured the boarding out scheme, and under his direction from 1859, it was increased in both extent and intensity. The scheme included most of the children in receipt of relief and closer supervision was given, the children's inspector being given a rise in salary, and an assistant. Foster parents were selected with care, and paupers were not allowed to be guardians because this would

perpetuate the idea that parish relief was a normal source of income. Many foster parents appeared to be devoted to their charges, developing lasting relationships with them, and in general, sick children were carefully tended, recovering health and strength in country surroundings. When foster parents emigrated they often requested permission to take the children who had lived with them, this being usually granted by the Parochial Board, and a donation towards expenses was given from the poor fund. Many children remained with the same families until old enough to work, when suitable employment was found for them by the inspector or the guardians. There were 30 apprentices noted on the 1852 list,¹¹ for whom boarding rates were still being paid. Sometimes the children remained with the families who had brought them up, when no longer a charge on the parish fund, but there was no scheme whereby the Parochial Board made arrangements for their adoption.

A report in the minutes in 1861 showed that an average of 300 to 400 children were boarded out each year, and between 1845 and 1861, only sixteen children had died while in foster care, despite the fact that pauper children were usually under nourished, or often ill when first given parish relief. Only twelve children had subsequently become chargeable to the City Board after leaving parish care, and between forty to fifty children had gone into trade and situations. Children boarded out were quickly assimilated into parish society, found less difficulty at school or in securing future employment, so were less likely to become a charge on the City parish poor fund in future. The average cost per child in

11. See table 13, appendix G below.

1861 was £7.17s.4d. a year, and this included the allowance paid to the guardians, any relief in kind such as clothing, medical attention and education.¹² Fifteen years later at a meeting held in Sir Charles Trevelyan's drawing room, Greig told the assembled company that the boarding out scheme in Scotland "fitted more children for life than those brought up by charities like George Heriot's Trust".¹³

The Board of Supervision was undecided about the boarding out system at first, but by 1869, it was convinced of the benefits. Sir John M'Neill, reporting to a Select Committee of inquiry in that year,¹⁴ said that if the scheme was properly supervised, with carefully selected guardians, it was unquestionably preferable to institutional care, provided by poorhouses or privately run orphanages.¹⁵ Foster care has therefore a long history in Scotland and its success in the nineteenth century both encouraged its adoption in England, and promoted its continued use today. The City Parochial Board was proud of its scheme and approved Greig's suggestion that a clothing allowance be given to foster parents, instead of them drawing supplies from the poorhouse stores, but insisted that good quality cloth was bought and that each child had an adequate amount. This assisted the integration of City children into rural society, although as their inspector pointed out, children getting parish relief were often noticeable, because they were well nourished, well shod, and better clothed.

12. P.B.M. 18 December, 1861.

13. P.L.M. 1876, p.350.

14. S.C. H.C. inquiry into the operation of the poor laws, 1868-69.

15. Scotsman, 24 April, 1869.

The Board of Supervision decided that each local inspector should be informed of any child boarded out in his area.¹⁶ His visits would reduce any abuse of the system and provide additional supervision when the childrens own inspector was not in the parish concerned, but the City Board refused, because this would have defeated the whole object of the system. To have the local inspector of poor visit non pauper families would be a public declaration that they were acting as foster parents, and the integration procedure would be handicapped. The City Board was quite satisfied with its own arrangements, and as no complaints had been made to the central authority, the latter could not insist that its circular be adopted. The City Board defiance meant, however, that it had to operate a scheme about which there could be no grounds of complaint, so members were delegated to visit foster homes regularly, their expenses being met from the poor fund. The regular reports were complimentary, but even though they were possibly biased, the visits served as additional supervision. The City Board scheme was considered very efficient, and this was probably why Greig was asked by the Mayor of Melbourne to send details, the Australian authorities having decided to introduce a similar system.¹⁷

The Parochial Board extended the boarding out scheme to children of outdoor recipients who either lived in squalid conditions, or who were considered a bad influence. Parental authority was often assumed, although this was not strictly legal, but the City Board exerted control by insisting that children received appropriate care,

16. B.S.M. 29 July, 1875.

17. P.L.M. 1895, p.402.

even if this meant separating parent and child. The point was rarely disputed by parents, and when it was questioned, it was usually because of a religious issue. The Parochial Board assumption of parental rights may have been accepted because it could be argued that the necessity of parish help for any child had arisen because of parental failure to provide adequately for their families. The City Board had, therefore, a right to protect these children and supervise their future, to prevent the whole family becoming a permanent charge on parish funds. Some parents did remove their children from the City Board control, thereby ceasing to obtain relief, but their actions often strengthened the Parochial Board case as interest was commonly shown only when the children reached a working age; by then, many were too independent to remain long with their newly found relatives.

A small number of children did remain in the poorhouse each year, but they were not detailed in any return regarding the total number of inmates.¹⁸ When the new poorhouse was built, the plans¹⁹ showed that only a small ward had been provided for children, so it appeared that the Parochial Board had no intention of accommodating large numbers of children even in the custom built institution. There were several reasons why some children remained in the poorhouse, but in each case, permanent residence was not intended. Some were waiting surgical treatment, others stayed for short post operative care before being returned to their former foster parents. Unless

18. See p. 183 above.

19. See p. 242 below.

illness was severe, children were not usually returned to the City parish, but received local medical attention for which the City Parochial Board paid. Some children remained in the poorhouse until their parents were traced, or investigations were made regarding settlement, or until foster homes could be found, but few remained there for any length of time.

As a rule, children under two years of age were not boarded out, but remained with their mothers in the poorhouse, or as outdoor recipients, but when the new poorhouse opened in 1870, separate wards were established for mothers and infants, although there appeared to be no distinction made between deserted wives, widows or unmarried mothers. Once a child was boarded out, the Parochial Board decided whether any future contact between child and parents, or relatives, was desirable, and many were refused the address of the foster home. To some extent this safeguarded both the child and foster parent, but if regular contact was sought by a parent, who could not legally be denied access to the child, the latter was brought into the poorhouse for a few days during which the parent was allowed to visit. Jessie King,²⁰ for example, had a child in care of the City Board before she was arrested for murder, but before her arrest, did not appear to have any contact with her daughter. When she was convicted and awaiting execution, however, she asked to see her child who was brought in from her country home, remaining for a few nights in the poorhouse and was taken to see her mother at Calton jail.

Parents, clergy, the Board of Supervision and others complained of the City Board's religious bias on occasions.²¹ Although a

20. Executed 11 March, 1889, for murdering two children.

21. P.L.M. 1860-61, p.268.

separate register was supposed to be kept for all children in care, the entry as to the religious persuasion of the child was not always correct in the City parish books. The central Board received many complaints about proselytising by Parochial Boards,²² particularly between 1860 and 1870, and many of the allegations made regarding the City Board, appeared to be valid. All inmates had to attend the daily service in the poorhouse, regardless of creed, although priests were allowed access to their parishioners if the governor gave permission. Any complaints that this had been refused, were usually countered by the governors accusations that the Catholic clergy frequently baptised non Catholic children without his knowledge, or the parents consent. From 1870, however, a separate chapel was provided in the poorhouse,²³ and Catholic children were escorted to their own school in Slateford, a few miles from the poorhouse, but the City Board made it quite clear that any misdemeanour would result in the loss of these privileges.

The religious problem could not be resolved by boarding the children with foster parents. Far too often the City Board registered all children as Protestants, unless there were clear contra-indications, and as will be seen from the 1852 list,²⁴ the religion of all the children boarded out was omitted. The City Board was accused on many occasions of boarding Catholic children with Protestant families, which the Board of Supervision considered was 'not an action which induces confidence that the Parochial Board

22. B.S.M. 10 August, 1868.

23. See p. 242 below.

24. See table 12, appendix G below.

is impartial with regard to Roman Catholic instruction',²⁵ but the City Board had many excuses. There was a shortage of suitable Catholic foster parents, but the Board of Supervision stated that it doubted 'whether the Parochial Board would have placed a Protestant child with a Roman Catholic family however suitable they might be'.²⁶ Catholic clergy offered places in their own orphanages, but the City Board refused stating that the boarding out system was better, for "an institution is simply a man made plan, not a natural family circle".²⁷

The Parochial Board also decided that children over the age of pupilarity, (which was twelve for girls and fourteen for boys), had the right to choose their own religion, and often when they were the product of mixed marriages, the City Board could claim that, as such children had a Protestant parent, the child was properly registered in that faith. As the law could not decide which parent's religion should be attached to these children, the City Board registered them all as Protestant, and when accused of bias, substantiated its action by saying that a parent or relative had so registered the child. When it became obvious that such actions would provoke increasing central intervention, the Parochial Board either placed these children in the poorhouse, or boarded them with Catholic families. If none could be found, the child was placed in a Protestant household, but the local priest was informed, and arrangements made for the child to attend an appropriate school.

25. P.B.M. 4 June, 1858.

26. P.B.M. 4 December, 1861.

27. P.B.M. 18 February, 1867.

After 1870, about two children a year were sent to the Catholic orphanage at Smyllum in Lanarkshire, which the Board of Supervision had inspected and approved.

From 1845, children and pauper lunatics received remedial care in the City parish, but the remainder of recipients were given unconditional relief. During the 1850's, the Parochial Board gradually integrated its administrative procedure, realising that decisions made by the Claims committee affected both the parish finances and legal affairs. The assessment of claims for relief was given more attention, and as a certificate was required for lunatics, the procedure was extended to include physical illness. Health was not the only determinant in assessment, however, and the Parochial Board began to investigate the reasons why relief was required, a procedure which led to the classification of paupers, not simply on past history but also on current behaviour. This was quite meaningless, unless differential treatment could be given to paupers, either to reduce the cause of poverty, or improve the defects of character which had contributed to their destitution and disability. To separate paupers into 'deserving' and 'undeserving', which had been a common division, was no longer sufficient, and instead of accepting the classification of recipients as 'dissipated', the City Board wanted a further explanation. Each pauper must be helped, so that 'dissipation' would no longer apply, but a comprehensive assessment procedure, combined with supervised help for all paupers, required more involvement by members and staff, and it was a slow development.

New methods were gradually introduced as old staff retired, as was clearly shown by the appointment of Kemp in 1857. The poorhouse

staff was increased in an attempt to introduce more control, but the effect was diminished because of the structural limitations and the fact that inmates could leave and probably secure outdoor relief. When Greig was appointed in 1859, the outdoor staff was increased and more supervised relief was introduced. He began to offer poorhouse relief to many more applicants, but if they accepted, this merely aggravated the problems already experienced by Kemp. In 1860, the Visiting Officer from the Board of Supervision gave an unfavourable report, showing that the poorhouse was overcrowded, there was no rigid segregation by sex, age or health, and the Board of Supervision demanded extensive alterations.²⁸

By this time, the Parochial Board had become a co-ordinated unit, with the organisational development Greig had been able to establish. The Board of Supervision intervention had the effect of consolidating the Parochial Board membership, and it was agreed that the building of a new poorhouse would solve many difficulties. A planned institution could cater for all categories of paupers, to whom differential treatment could be given, so that material help and advice could be connected. At the same time, outdoor relief could be reserved for the respectable paupers, thereby reducing the case load for each assistant inspector, and enabling each man to give more intensive supervision to the recipients in his district. Frequent visiting would ensure that the outdoor poor continued to deserve relief in this way, because any misuse of the allowance could be dealt with by its withdrawal, and the offer of poorhouse admission. Furthermore, a poorhouse which could be operated according to the

28. P.B.M. 26 March, 1860.

Copy of the plan of the Craiglockhart estate, showing the small area occupied by the poorhouse. The roads connecting the estate to the main thoroughfares were constructed by the Parochial Board.

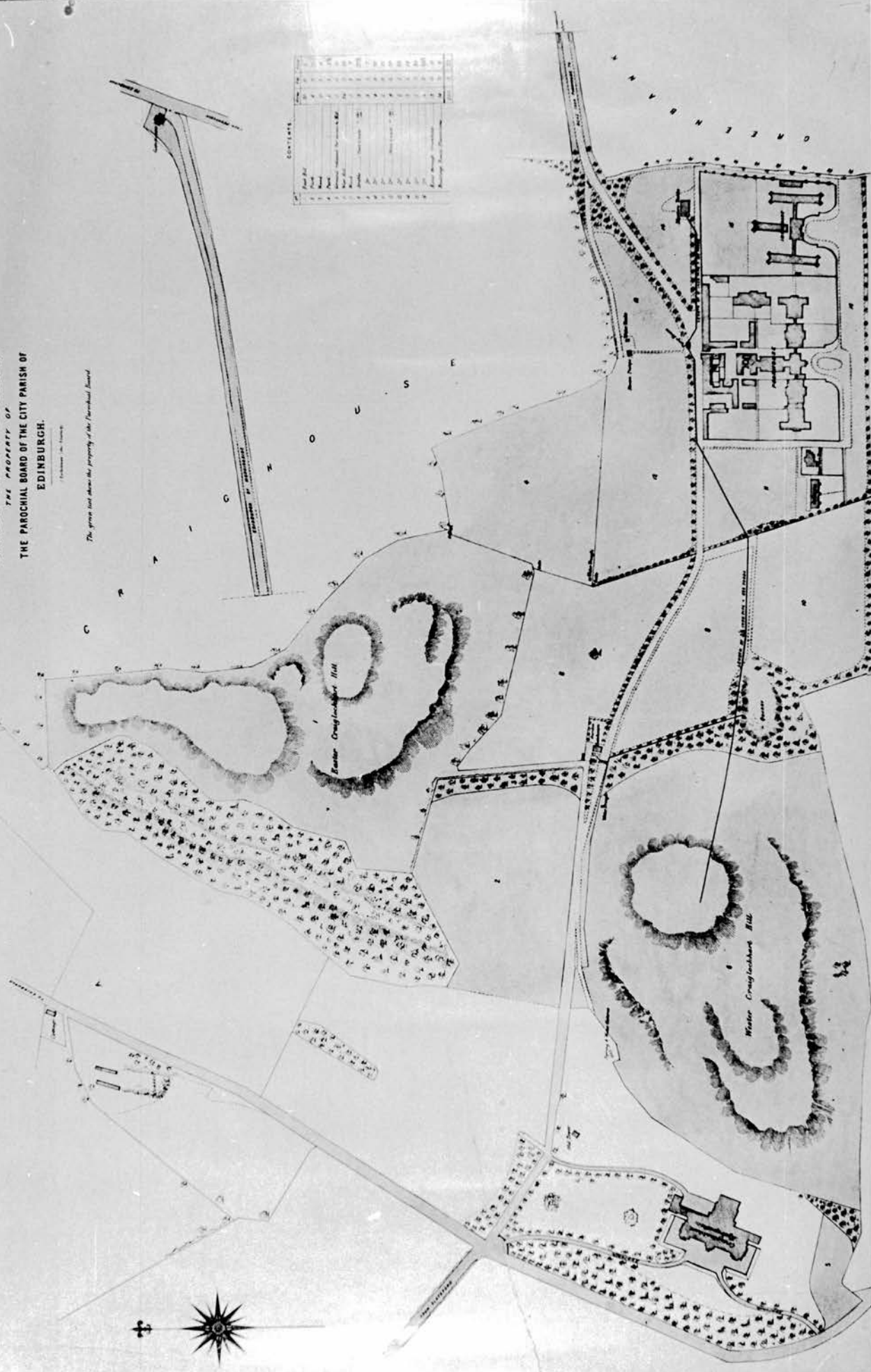
PLAN
OF LANDS AT
CRAIGLOCKHART,
THE PROPERTY OF
THE PAROCHIAL BOARD OF THE CITY PARISH OF
EDINBURGH.

(Enlarged from the original)

The ground is shown as the property of the Parochial Board

CONTENTS

Area of the Lands	100
Area of the Water	100
Area of the Buildings	100
Area of the Roads	100
Area of the Parks	100
Area of the Gardens	100
Area of the Fields	100
Area of the Woods	100
Area of the Hills	100
Area of the Mountains	100
Area of the Rivers	100
Area of the Lakes	100
Area of the Ponds	100
Area of the Canals	100
Area of the Bridges	100
Area of the Tunnels	100
Area of the Roads	100
Area of the Parks	100
Area of the Gardens	100
Area of the Fields	100
Area of the Woods	100
Area of the Hills	100
Area of the Mountains	100
Area of the Rivers	100
Area of the Lakes	100
Area of the Ponds	100
Area of the Canals	100
Area of the Bridges	100
Area of the Tunnels	100



Board of Supervision standards would reduce central intervention and be acceptable as 'adequate relief'.

The Parochial Board held an open competition for plans for a new poorhouse, and twenty-two were submitted, all with a 'motto' attached in an attempt to conceal the architect's identity. The one chosen, 'Comfort for the poor with care for the ratepayer', estimated to cost £44,000 seemed to have been selected because of its title, because the first instruction given to the architect George Beattie, was to radically alter his design, which increased the cost to £57,762.²⁹ No exact figure was quoted for the eventual cost of the 'Craiglockhart' poorhouse in Colinton parish, but from the minutes it is obvious that £90,000 would have been a closer estimate. It was originally intended to accommodate 1200 inmates, but when it opened in 1870, the Board of Supervision sanctioned only 600, although further extensions in 1873 increased the accommodation to 950, and it remained at this figure until 1894.

The poorhouse occupied a site three miles out of Edinburgh, on a 250 acre estate,³⁰ and the well constructed stone building, designed in the baronial style common to the period, still stands today. It was built on a pavilion basis,³¹ each block arranged to be self contained, with different wards, so that categories of inmates could be separated from each other, and the only place where they might mix, was the dining hall, which served a dual purpose as a chapel.³²

29. P.B.M. 13 April, 1866.

30. See p. 240 above.

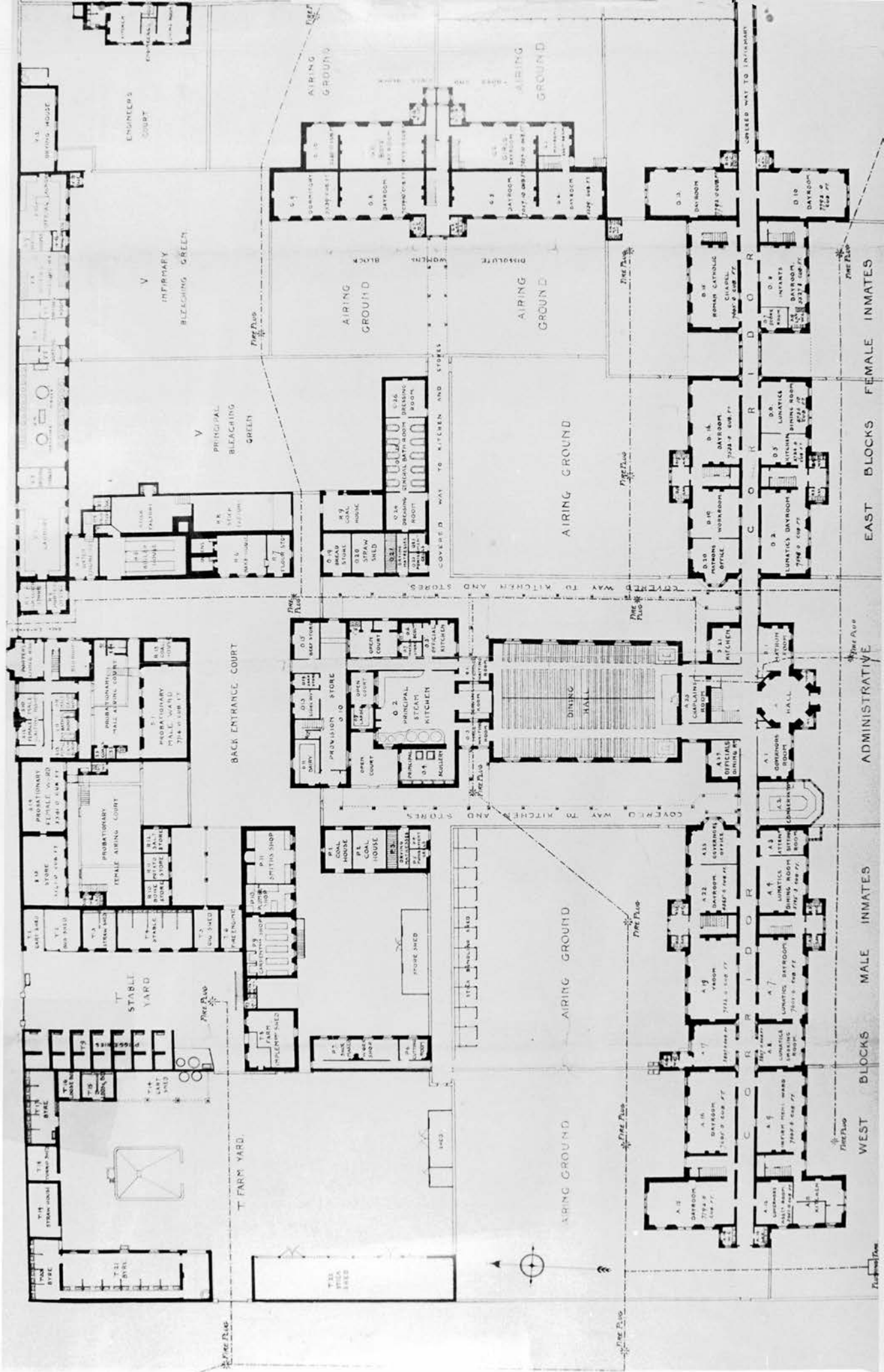
31. See p. 226 above.

32. See p. 242 below.

Copy of the poorhouse plan, showing the ground floor wards. Each was provided with a separate exercise yard and are clearly marked for the 'dissolute women' and the probationary wards.

Photographs of the childrens dayroom, the kitchen and laundry can be found in Appendix I below.

For comment in text, see p.279, below.



With additional staff to supervise, however, inmates could be kept apart even at mealtimes, and discipline was easier to maintain.

Those who worked and conformed to the rules (which could be strictly applied), received a varied diet, comfortable sleeping quarters and day rooms, extra provisions of tea, tobacco and sweets, and could participate in any organised outing, or have leave to wander round the spacious grounds, as well as the exercise areas attached to each ward. The plan had originally included cottage type homes for respectable married couples, over the age of sixty, but this was not carried out by the City Board. Instead, they were allowed outdoor relief if they could manage at home, and the Parochial Board thus avoided the criticism that relief authorities separated man and wife in the poorhouse.³³ It was not appreciated that not all married couples wished to remain together, not even by the Parochial Board members, for in the 1880's, the female members were disturbed by a complaint from an old man that he had been separated from his wife. On investigating however, they learnt that the man had been paralysed for some time and was being cared for in the hospital section, and his wife had no complaints about her newfound freedom in the respectable womens quarters.

Each inmate was admitted initially to the probationary ward, the experiment tried at Forrest Road, but attended by much more success at the new poorhouse. Health was assessed, character and behaviour observed after a thorough cleansing process for both the pauper and his clothes. Impostors, tramps, and the entitled poor soon learnt that the routine was vigorous and many decided to manage

33. P.L.M. 1879, p.182.

without parish help, or move on to areas not so well organised.³⁴

Once assessed, the pauper was admitted to the appropriate ward in the main building, but the initial classification was not necessarily a label for the rest of his stay. Inmates could improve their conditions by giving positive indications that they had benefited from the remedial care, and there was plenty of work available, from seven in the morning to five o'clock six days a week. The surrounding arable land³⁵ was extensively cultivated and there was organised work available in the poorhouse, while menial tasks were given to those who misbehaved. Inmates of 'doubtful' or 'dissipated' character could secure places in the 'good character' wards which were more comfortable and had a better diet, by conforming to the regulations, the improved classification being used as a reward.

Despite the prevailing north wind, some inmates did benefit from the healthy surroundings and regular meals, although the initial shock after the squalid conditions from which many had come, must have been considerable. There were few complaints about the facilities provided, and the supplies ordered by the committee in 1893 show a marked contrast to those purchased before 1850.³⁶ A more varied diet was offered, and inmates who did complain, were either resentful at the loss of liberty, or the close supervision. Adam Brown, for example, coming from the Grassmarket where conditions were beginning to perturb the Town Council, complained to the Board of Supervision³⁷ in 1872

34. See p. 170 above.

35. See p. 240 above.

36. See p. 245 below; cf. with pp. 70 and 137 above.

37. P.B.M. 23 January, 1872.

PROVISIONS COMMITTEE, 10th May 1893.

Present—Messrs Lewis, Macdougald, Story, Morrison, Macfarlane, and Miss Small.
—Mr Lewis in the Chair.

Provisions.—The Governor submitted offers and samples which he had received for the supply of provisions, &c., required for the Poorhouse during the ensuing half-year, and the Committee, having examined and compared the same, accepted the following, and instructed accordingly, viz.:—

Oatmeal, Best Midlothian, from T. & J. King, at 17s. per boll.
Salt, Best Scots, from S. R. Robertson, at 2s. 4d. per cwt.
Pot Barley, from S. R. Robertson, sample Sp. No. 2, at 7s. 9d. per cwt.
Split Pease, from S. R. Robertson, at 8s. 4d. per cwt.
Rice, Patna, from S. R. Robertson, sample No. 2 J. R., at 12s. 6d. per cwt.
Eggs, Fresh, average weight 2 oz., and any found not good to be allowed for, from S. R. Robertson, at 9s. per 120.
Butcher Meat, Best Home-Fed Ox Beef, at 5s. 6½d. per imperial stone—the under half of the fore quarter cut straight by the fourth rib; or portions of the same when required. The bony and fleshy sides to be supplied alternately, and to be delivered each alternate day, or otherwise if required, 5s. 6½d. per stone. Mutton, Hind Quarters at 9s. 4d. per stone, and Fore Quarters at 7s. per stone.
Sirloin Roast, at 10d. per lb.; Rib Roast, at 9d. per lb.—from Brechin Brothers.
Sugar (Crushed), from John Thomson, at 25s. per cwt.
Cheese (American), from S. R. Robertson, at 55s. per cwt.
Butter, Good Salt Danish, from S. R. Robertson, at 11½d. per lb.
Soft Soap, from Alex. Ogston & Sons, at 9s. per firkin, less 2½ per cent. discount.
Soap Powder, from Alex. Rae & Sons, at 8s. 9d. per cwt.
Soda, from Rae & Thomson, at 3s. 4½d. per cwt.
Tobacco (Mid-Twist, in bulk), from John Wilson, at 3s. 5d. per lb.
Snuff (No. 1 Rappee), from John Wilson, at 2s. 6d. per lb.
Coal (Screened Tripping), from J. R. Waugh & Son, at 8s. 6d. per ton.
Coal (Ross Fil), from J. R. Waugh & Son, at 13s. per ton.
Pease Meal, from S. R. Robertson, at 9s. 10d. per cwt.
Fish, from Mrs C. Ryan, at 2d. per lb.
Skim Milk, from Edinburgh Dairy Company, at 4½d. per gallon.
Coffee, from Ernest H. Weilerter, at 1s. 4d. per lb.
Pepper from S. R. Robertson, at 9d. per lb.
Mustard (Colman's D.S.T.), from Rae & Thomson, at 10½d. per lb. in 12 lb. kegs.
Starch, from Rae & Thomson, at 3s. per cwt.
Black Lead (Nixey's), from R. & T. Gibson, at 5s. 6d. per gross.
Blacking (Day & Martin's), from Rae & Thomson, at 2s. 4½d. per gross packets.
Matches (Fandstickor), from R. & T. Gibson, at 1s. 3d. per gross.
Bathbricks, from Ernest H. Weilerter, at 6d. per dozen.
Candies, from Rae & Thomson, at 3½d. per lb.
Coffins, from Mrs Jemima Williamson, at the following rates, viz.:—Under 2 ft. 6 in., at 1s. 3d. each:
2 ft. 6 in. and under 3 ft., at 1s. 6d.; 3 ft. and under 4 ft., at 1s. 9d.; 4 ft. and under 5 ft., at 2s. 3d.; 5 ft. and under 5 ft. 6 in., at 4s. 3d.; 5 ft. 6 in. and up to 6 ft., at 4s. 9d. Width to be according to length. Under 3 ft., wood to be ½ inch thick; for 3 ft. and over, ¾ inch thick.
Arranging and Conducting Funerals—Under 4 years, 14s. 6d.; 4 years and under 8, at 16s.; 8 years and upwards, 22s.
Crown Glass, 17 oz. per square foot, from Geo. Lindsay & Co., at 1½d. per square foot.
Sweeping Chimneys—Wm. Milligan, at 7d. per chimney at House, and 6d. per chimney at Forrest Road.
Stationery, as per specification, from Macniven & Cameron.
Printing, as per specification, from Macniven & Cameron.
Tea (Mixed Black), from Brodie, Hamilton & Co., at 1s. 6d. per lb.
Adjourned.

PROVISIONS COMMITTEE, 17th May 1893.

Present—Messrs Lewis, Story, and Miss Small.—Mr Lewis in the Chair.

Accounts. Submitted the following accounts, duly checked, which the Committee examined and passed for payment, viz.:—

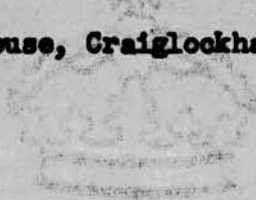
A. & R. Todd, for flour,	£22 15 0
John Inglis & Sons, for flour,	23 2 6
C. Ryan, for fish,	5 14 8
John Donald & Co., for crockery,	16 19 2
John Wilson, for tobacco, &c.,	3 1 6
A. McDowall, for churn milk,	9 6 3
J. R. Waugh & Son, for coal,	53 17 6

that the temperature was too cold in the dormitories at night. The central authority dismissed his complaint, but suggested to the City Board that the temperature should not fall below fifty-five degrees. The Poorhouse committee could not fulfil this requirement, because it had installed a central heating plant which was inadequate, and as Brown persisted with his complaints, he was quietly removed on to the outdoor roll. It would appear that his complaint was not due to loss of liberty, however, because having found his old dwelling quite intolerable, he requested re-admission to the poorhouse where he gave no further trouble.

The new poorhouse solved many difficulties for the Parochial Board. There was plenty of room for adult men and women of all age groups, with a large hospital section for the sick.³⁸ The short stay inmates, reluctant to submit to the probationary wards, or the classification, began to decrease in number, and tramps discovered that they were quickly dispatched to their own parishes when they applied for relief in the City. Over 1000 applicants for relief refused the offer of poorhouse admission each year, probably because the loss of liberty, the close supervision, and conformity to the rules were not acceptable. Furthermore, the poorhouse was three miles away from Edinburgh, which both discouraged visiting by friends or relatives, and isolated inmates from their former associations. Visitors were allowed each Saturday, but no official conveyance was provided, and as inmates began to lose contact with their former friends, they became institutionalised, a state of mind which often occurs in hospitals today, so inmates found it difficult

38. See p. 247 below.

Ground floor plan of the hospital at the
City poorhouse, Craiglockhart.



Eden Grove

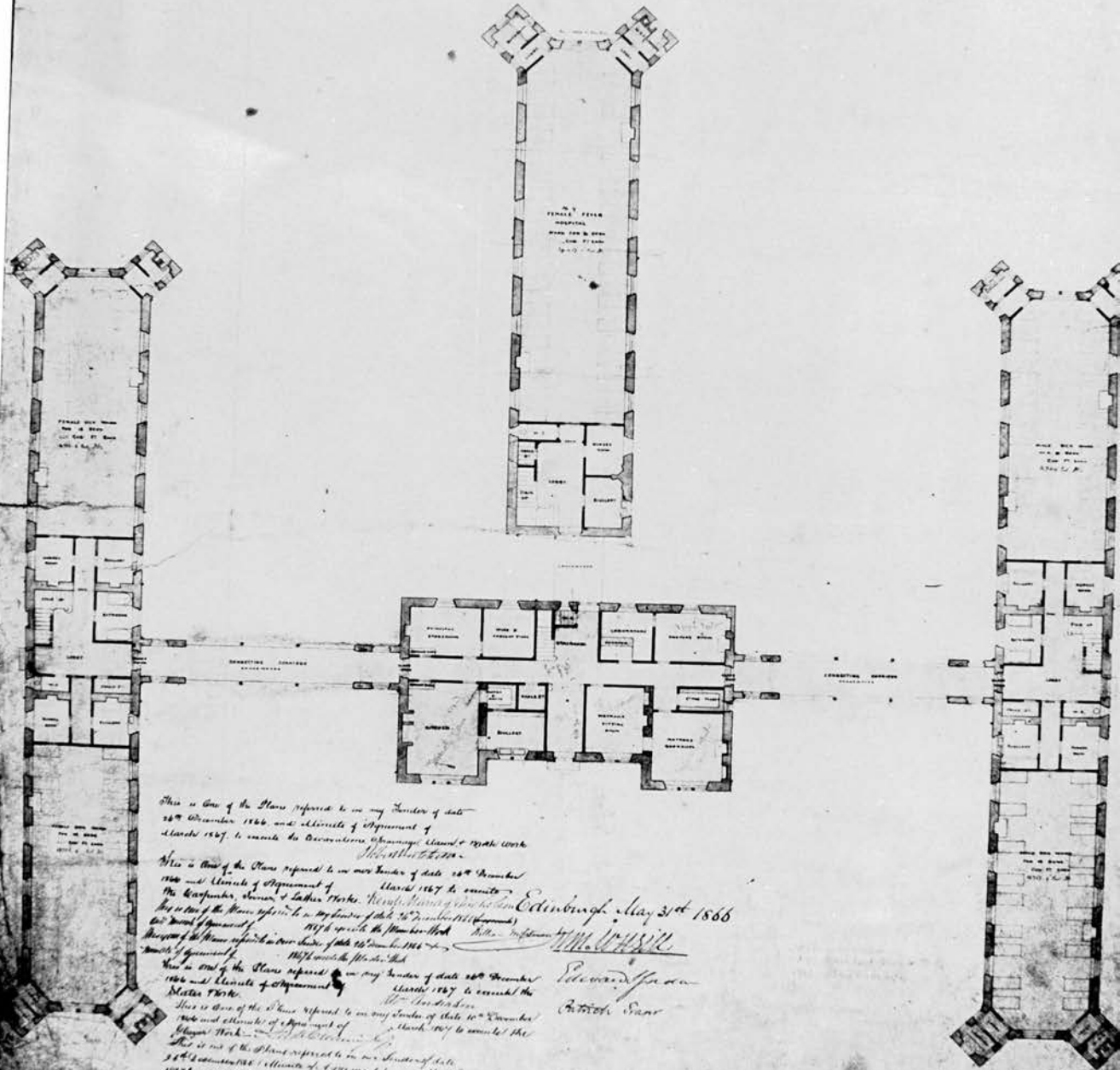
Bond

TUB SIZED

3

EDINBURGH CITY POORHOUSE CRAIGLOCKHART
GROUND FLOOR PLAN OF INFIRMARY

Nº 16



This is one of the Plans referred to in my Letter of date 26th December 1866 and minute of Agreement of March 1867 to execute the Decorations, Alterations & Repairs to the

Also a Plan of the Plans referred to in my Letter of date 26th December 1866 and minute of Agreement of March 1867 to execute the Decorations, Alterations & Repairs to the

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Edinburgh, May 31st 1866
Wm. D. Wilson
Robert Cairns

Wm. D. Wilson

Robert Cairns

John Wilson

SCALE OF 1/4" = 1' 0"

Wm. D. Wilson

Wm. D. Wilson

to leave the poorhouse and return easily to their old ways of life, and many were reluctant to attempt the transition.

There was no wall round the new poorhouse, for none was necessary; it was no longer important if the inmate absconded. He was not given outdoor relief, and if he returned to the poorhouse, disciplinary action could be taken before he was admitted to the less amenable wards. If poorhouse property was taken, the absconder had further to travel before being able to dispose of it, so there was increased risk of being 'found in possession' and prosecuted, and after a stay in prison, he was again offered poorhouse admission. The inspector did manage to prosecute some paupers for theft and this acted as a deterrent to others.

The Board of Supervision Visiting Officer gave favourable reports after 1870, but offered suggestions about minor points, which the City Board often ignored. His most persistent criticism was the continued use of inmates as nurses, or the employment of untrained personnel on the sick wards. His suggestion that trained staff should be employed was ignored until 1883, when the conditions attached to the medical grant were revised to include a contribution towards nurses uniforms and salaries. Apart from its objection to the increased expenditure, the City Board had not considered that poorhouse hospital duties required the employment of trained staff. Most of the inmates in the sick wards required general nursing rather than more specialised attention, and 'kindly care' was considered the most important part of the duties, which could be easily given by untrained staff supervised by the physician and matron.³⁹ When trained nurses were engaged, the Parochial Board discovered that

39. See the interesting correspondence on this subject in Miss Haldane's papers, Ms 6018 and 6045, National Library of Scotland.

they were difficult to keep, because Edinburgh offered numerous opportunities for more interesting and varied employment. Furthermore, the distance between the city and the poorhouse isolated the staff, as well as the inmates, and although residential accommodation was provided, the regular turnover was a constant problem to the administration.

Outdoor relief was reserved for the respectable paupers, although what criteria was used in making this assessment is not evident. Monetary allowances varied between 2/- and 7/- a week, the average being 2/6d to 3/-, but still supplemented by relief in kind. From 1870, an average of six complaints of inadequate relief were lodged each year at the Board of Supervision offices; all of them were dismissed because poorhouse entry was available. By raising the status of outdoor relief in this way, the City Board had demoted that of its expensive poorhouse, although this was by no means the intention. Perhaps some of the applicants refused the offer of institutional care because they felt it was an implication that they were 'less respectable'.

From the mid 1850's therefore, more emphasis was placed on the provision of remedial care in the City parish, and it was clear from the preface to the 1852 list that some members thought more supervision should be introduced. Members were urged to 'look into the humble dwellings of the poor, exchange a few kind words, or deliver a well timed rebuke', but the Parochial Board members, well aware of the state of some of these homes, did not feel inclined to adopt the suggestion, nor did all the members consider that supervision of the outdoor recipients was necessary. The preface also suggested more involvement with paupers, to detect impostors

and 'prevent the poor from feeling depressed', but until the majority of members of the Parochial Board were willing to incur more responsibility, the policy could not be implemented.

By 1870, however, supervised relief was the only kind offered in the City parish, and the last list of poor available showed that in 1884, only 228 or 18% of adult paupers received outdoor relief out of a total roll of 1256 names. In 1852, the outdoor recipients comprised 48% of the list⁴⁰ and received unconditional relief, but in 1884, the 18% of the roll were closely supervised by four assistant inspectors collaborating with four district medical officers. The outdoor paupers were not visited by the City Board members, but frequent visits were made to those boarded out, and inmates in the poorhouse. The increased responsibilities for both staff and members might have been expected to involve the management in increased time and effort, with longer and more frequent meetings. The staff were kept fully occupied, but there were more employees to share the responsibilities in poor law administration, and any other duties imposed by social legislation. As the administration became more organised, members found less time was required to maintain efficiency, and in the long term, remedial relief proved very advantageous to the Parochial Board. When it began to emphasise supervised relief, it had not realised that this effect would occur, and as unconditional relief could have continued without violating the requirements of the 1845 Act, the reasons for the change of emphasis are important; but these were many and varied.

40. See table 3, appendix G below.

Chapter 8.The reasons for the change of policy.

The membership of the City Parochial Board changed slightly each year from 1845, and as each person took their place, new ideas were introduced in an effort to solve the problems in poor relief administration. For varying reasons, members chose to be associated with the Parochial Board activities, but because they were part of the changing society in Edinburgh, and were affected by current opinions, each member contributed something to the overall policy of the City Board. The causes of poverty and pauperism were frequently discussed topics in the nineteenth century, and the diverse opinions influenced many of the decisions made at meetings, so, during the period, the concept of the Parochial Board was altered. Some members left after a short association, finding that the purpose of poor law administration did not fulfil their expectations, while others remained for many years, adapting and improving the organisation.

From 1845 however, there were always some members of the Parochial Board who attempted to introduce more supervised relief, for these people were the promoters of the rules for managing the poorhouse in 1846,¹ and were involved in the frequent revisions thereafter; the main purpose of all the regulations being to control and restrict the inmates. It was these members who wrote the lengthy preface in the 1852 list, urging more involvement in the lives of recipients, and scrutiny of applications to detect fraud, so that the

1. See copy in end paper pocket below.

administration could help to improve the habits of the poor; but for many years, these social reformers were in the minority. Consequently, the policy they suggested was never fully adopted, and apart from the children and the mentally ill, the majority of paupers in the City parish received unconditional relief.

By 1857, the idea that more supervised care should be given had gained more support, as the appointment of Kemp, and later Greig, as inspector indicated. Both men were chosen because the majority of Parochial Board members considered the experiences as a governor in an English workhouse, and as an inspector in the partly urban parish of St. Cuthberts, would be advantageous in extending the City Board's policy. The employees were expected to execute this policy under the direction of the Parochial Board, but as the latter was not a fully co-ordinated unit, both men assumed more authority than should have been permitted. By promoting organisational unity however, Greig reduced his opportunities in policy making, and as an increased number of members supported the proposals to give remedial care for all recipients, both Kemp and Greig were given more instruction and direction. In many ways, the two officials assumed the role of 'heads of departments', directing their relevant staff with the full co-operation of the Parochial Board, and in this capacity, they were able to suggest various methods by which the City Board policy could be more efficiently fulfilled. Many of these were adopted, but without a constant supply of members who believed in remedial relief, these suggestions would not have been accepted, nor would it have been possible for the Parochial Board to pursue a consistent policy.

The change of emphasis to more supervised relief was due to

various influences, but was a gradual development, until by 1870, it was the only kind of help offered. In 1845 outdoor relief was considered to be 'adequate' care, and was given to the majority of paupers, but during the years, it became a controversial issue. Some people thought it should be totally abolished in favour of indoor relief, while others considered that institutional life was unnatural, and that all paupers should receive social benefits while remaining within the community. Greig himself said that when first appointed in 1859, he believed that outdoor relief should be given in preference, but by 1875 he was convinced it encouraged paupers to deny they had any relatives, 'which were quickly found when poorhouse admission was offered'.² The arguments against outdoor relief were mainly directed against the lack of supervision, the indiscriminate methods of assessing applications and the laxity of the administrators, all of which fostered fraud, and encouraged the 'dissipated' to apply for help. 'It would be difficult' stated an article in the Reformer, 'to devise a system which would more effectually destroy the spirit of self reliance among the poorer classes, than that of outdoor relief',³ but others argued that poorhouse relief increased pauperism, and 'often makes the character of paupers deteriorate',⁴ so considered that outdoor relief should be given instead.

Amidst all these conflicting ideas, the City Parochial Board

2. P.L.M. 1875, p.446.

3. The Reformer, 5 June, 1869; editor was David Lewis, Parochial Board member.

4. P.L.M. 1862-63, p.296.

compromised. While insisting on the one hand that poorhouse relief was not beneficial for children, it was proclaimed advantageous for adults, who could be offered admission as a test of genuine need. The applicant who refused to have his liberty restricted, which an offer of total maintenance entailed, was considered an impostor, not really in need of the help he sought, and such refusals would reduce the number of recipients in the parish. Outdoor relief continued to be given to children, to certain mentally ill paupers under the boarding out scheme, and the respectable poor were given an allowance while remaining in their own homes, as a reward for their past efforts to be self supporting, or as an inducement to continue to 'deserve' the privilege. Inmates in the poorhouse were given training by providing them with suitable employment, and the educational facilities offered to all children receiving parish help, fulfilled the Parochial Board policy of encouraging self help. In reply to any criticism made by educational reformers, the Parochial Board was thus able to show that it was interested in training adults, as well as children, and because the latter had received education from 1845, the City Board resented any adverse comments from the School Boards after 1872.

The emphasis on education and training was connected with future employment, and from the mid 1840's was part of nineteenth century ideas. As society believed in the value of work, it praised the ability to secure and maintain a place in the occupational opportunities which steadily increased. The independent labourer was taking his proper place in society, but the pauper was not, so he was derided for failing to be a useful member of the community. 'What is to be done with our paupers',⁵ was a popular feature of articles, the

5. The Reformer, 29 May, 1869.

emphasis being on the remedial aspect, and with these opinions being generally accepted, the Parochial Board could not continue to care for the entitled poor without providing some kind of employment. It was but a short step to the idea that paupers were in need mainly because of their failure to participate in the occupational field, and as the opportunities were there, it must be due, therefore, to their defects of character.

Between 1845 and 1894, these ideas fluctuated in intensity, and were further complicated by the diverse opinions of social reformers. Malthusian fears of over population were associated with Darwin's⁶ theory, which was popularly believed to concern the survival of the fittest. To assist the poor might produce an increase in population and interfere with the natural selection procedure, upsetting the laws of nature which controlled the numbers of 'unfit' persons in society. The medical profession suggested that preventive medicine would help to reduce the spread of disease, and their increased knowledge enabled them to diagnose with more accuracy, before offering the appropriate treatment for both physical and mental illness. The argument that prevention was better than cure conflicted with the idea that disease was a necessary factor in promoting a healthy population, Disease would reduce the numbers of the 'weak', and those who 'survived' would be those most likely to prove useful to the nation. All these notions played some part in the topics of the time, being written about in articles and pamphlets and discussed at meetings or social gatherings, so it was inevitable that Parochial Board members were affected. As part of Edinburgh's local government,

6. As published in The Origin of the Species, 1859.

they were concerned with improving general amenities, and the promotion of responsible civic organisations, but they still wished to operate at a local level, with no increase in central control.⁷ Unless they were effective, however, centralisation would increase, and this would reduce the Parochial Board's 'discretionary power'. The City Board collected a large revenue each year, and its status was contested only by the Town Council, so the members naturally wished to maintain, if not increase their predominance, and earn the respect of the ratepayers they represented. This could be achieved if it was generally acknowledged that the Parochial Board was performing a very necessary function, not as a Statutory authority giving indiscriminate relief to paupers, but as a local authority giving remedial care to mitigate, if not erradicate, the cause of poverty.

Although this was a more complicated procedure than simply dealing with the effects of poverty, it was more rewarding. Many people were bewildered that poverty existed at all, for great improvements had been made in industry, commerce and standards of living, yet it was very evident to the Edinburgh citizens that paupers dwelt in their midst. As some people were obviously not benefitting from the general prosperity which was thought to exist, it seemed to be the duty of the Parochial Board to make further inquiries, for few people were prepared to admit that 'pauperism, like a parasite has been engendered by our commercial wealth and manufacturing greatness, rid of it we cannot get'.⁸ The explanation

7. G. Best, Mid-Victorian Britain, 1851-75, (London, 1971), p.35, refers to 'local self government'.

8. P.L.M. 1868-69, p.377.

most readily accepted for the increased numbers of paupers was that poverty was due to improvidence, and pauperism was a further degradation. Paupers were 'dissipated, vicious characters' who lacked honesty, the ability to budget, spending more than they possessed, and, having no self respect, applied for parish help.⁹ It was always considered to be a downward slide from poverty to pauperism, so, as the character defects in the latter state were obviously more severe, 'paupers should be reclaimed by education, given advice on food, housing and money, to increase their happiness, and reduce their misery'.¹⁰

The argument that poverty was not a crime or a disgrace 'anymore than riches, for Christianity is based on the life of a poor man',¹¹ was heard less frequently as the century progressed, and few were prepared to accept that it was an inevitable feature of society.¹² Any movement to improve conditions in penal institutions affected the Parochial Board, because conditions in the poorhouse could not be unfavourably compared with those provided for prisoners. Writers such as Dickens, criticised local government officials as well as comparing relief accommodation with prisons, and as few administrators enjoyed being referred to as 'bumbledom', the City Board must have been gratified to read in the Scotsman in 1864,¹³ that this term could not be applied to its members. The

9. P.L.M. 1865, p.205.

10. P.L.M. 1865, p.359.

11. P.L.M. 1866-67, p.1.

12. P.L.M. 1868-69, p.378.

13. Scotsman, 27 August, 1864.

reporter stated they were conscientious, prudent and considerate, both towards the poor and 'having concern for the ratepayers', yet in spite of this praise, the City Board was still complaining in the 1880's, that the Town Council ignored its existence at public functions. The Town Council 'should be reminded that the Parochial Board is a public body representing the ratepayers, and should be awarded due recognition of its status',¹⁴ the minutes recorded, because the Town Council had not sent invitations, or free tickets, to either the Holyrood Review,¹⁵ or the opening of St. Giles.¹⁶ Although some members were not sure if they would have attended the latter ceremony.

All these ideas and opinions regarding poverty and related subjects, affected the City Parochial Board policy in various ways, depending upon the strength of public support, and the source of the opinions, but there were certain spheres which had more influence than others; the Board of Supervision for example. Although the 1845 Act appeared to give the central authority the duty of supervising local arrangements, thereby implying that the initiative for action should come primarily from the Parochial Boards, this was not completely true in practice. The members of the Board of Supervision in 1845 had little experience in poor relief administration, but two employees were able to give valuable guidance. William Smythe, the secretary until 1852, had been a member of the Royal Commission in 1843, and this experience combined

14. P.B.M. May, 1884.

15. Edinburgh Courant, 16 August, 1881.

16. Edinburgh Courant, 22 May, 1883.

with his ability as a lawyer, enabled him to collaborate with the legal members of the central authority. He was able to advise the chairman, Sir John M'Neill as to what action should be taken concerning the numerous inquiries received from Parochial Boards, so that any advice given was within the Board of Supervision's jurisdiction. By confining its activities to matters in which it had undisputed authority, the Board of Supervision was able to avoid any allegation that it was exceeding its power, and Parochial Boards realised that a directive from the central authority would therefore, be upheld if any court action was instigated.¹⁷ Smythe was assisted in the office by William Arthur Peterkin, a former clerk to the Royal Commission, so both men were well aware on the intention of the Act and the unsatisfactory arrangements for poor relief which had promoted the legislation.¹⁸

The administrative routine was quickly organised to enable the Board of Supervision to deal with the inquiries and complaints, which were sent from all parts of Scotland, and its cautious approach successfully gained the co-operation of the majority of Parochial Boards. In 1847, with increased confidence and experience, the Board of Supervision decided that an offer of poorhouse entry to dismiss a complaint of inadequate relief could only be justified if the central authority was acquainted with indoor provisions.¹⁹ Consequently, both members and staff inspected various premises, but it was an arduous duty and as more poorhouses were built or

17. L.S.M. 16 August, 1849.

18. See p. 3 above.

19. L.S.M. 2 December, 1847.

altered, a full time employee was essential. The government did not permit this increase in the establishment until 1857, by which time Smythe had retired and been replaced by another eminent lawyer from Edinburgh, William Walker, who proved to be a very forceful and energetic man, and became chairman in 1868.

Under his direction, more investigations were made into local affairs and the Board of Supervision began to suggest that various categories of paupers might benefit more from poorhouse relief, than if given the traditional help at home. This policy was furthered in 1857, with the appointment of two General Superintendents, and the promotion of Peterkin to the post of Visiting Officer for poorhouses in 1858. The three employees were instructed to investigate any parish which showed a rapid increase in the numbers of registered paupers each year, and this was followed by circulars suggesting that the laxity of administration allowed too many impostors to receive parish relief. The effect of this on the City Parochial Board's policy was particularly marked after the Visiting Officer submitted an unfavourable report in 1858 concerning defective arrangements in the poorhouse.²⁰

Peterkin continued to visit the City poorhouse regularly during the next two years, frequently complaining of the lack of amenities, the overcrowding, and the custom of permitting two adults to share the same bed. The latter was strongly condemned by the Board of Supervision whenever it had been brought to its notice in other parishes,²¹ and Kemp, anxious to exonerate himself, placed the blame

20. P.B.M. 5 February, 1858.

21. B.S.M. 16 August, 1855.

Admissions to (C)emissions from, and Deaths in Edinburgh City Poorhouses from 14 May 1857 to 14 May 1866.

Time from Street with undiminished Aided	Admission		Totals	Emission		Totals	Deaths		Totals	in House	All House as mentioned date daily &c.	Accidents				
	Men	Women Boys		Men	Women Boys		Men	Women Boys								
1857 May 14	341	519	217	232	366	459	201	263	1199	34	14	6	90	405	1858 May 14	430
1858 "	373	663	257	245	282	389	239	247	1354	33	33	12	116	428	1859 "	452
1859 "	331	563	334	212	297	772	336	360	1785	33	73	6	112	413	1860 "	467
1860 "	425	866	396	389	362	777	393	324	1868	26	56	14	124	417	1861 "	483
1861 "	508	924	671	417	496	889	430	388	2221	45	48	15	139	444	1862 "	492
1862 "	626	963	527	438	605	929	483	444	2473	46	31	17	108	447	1863 "	482
1863 "	586	1020	596	573	525	975	507	569	2676	56	53	19	138	417	1864 "	501
1864 "	622	1120	631	571	571	1046	611	535	2752	46	63	30	153	437	1865 "	508
1865 "	516	1325	587	619	757	1565	586	616	3201	62	32	15	147	453	1866 "	515
	4621	1253	4621	3337	6221	7781	5067	3611	19322	593	490	134	139	1139		

*W. Thomson
1867-1868
in the
year 1857-1858*

July 1866

on the inspector, who, it was alleged aggravated the restricted accommodation by pursuing a vigorous policy of sending more applicants to the poorhouse. The Board of Supervision could not accept this excuse however, because it had previously decided it would only sanction a limited number of inmates in each poorhouse every year, and if the City institution was overcrowded, this limit was obviously being exceeded without the Board of Supervision authority.

It was perhaps difficult for Kemp to remember the exact figure permitted in the City poorhouse each year, because the number was frequently altered, as any change in sanitation or ventilation standards required more space for each bed. To have submitted any figures above the sanctioned number would have provoked an immediate investigation by the Board of Supervision, but the statistics in the City Board minutes do not appear to have been very consistent, although there is no record of the returns sent to the Board of Supervision until 1862. The following table shows the average number of inmates for the years 1857 to 1862 which have been found on three separate returns. The 1852-62 return already mentioned,²² a further return in the Parochial Board minutes in 1866,²³ and a statement given in evidence by Kemp to the Select Committee investigating poor relief administration in 1870,²⁴ and none of the figures are the same.

22. See p. 184 above.

23. See p. 261 above.

24. See p. 263 below.

Statement given by Governor KEMP on 1st April 1870
to the Select Committee of the House of Commons:
1870.

PP Vol XI Appendix 12

DATE	NUMBER ADMITTED	DAILY AVERAGE
1856	1275	547
1857	1286	542
1858	1454	560
1859	1613	581
1860	1962	578
1861	2063	588
1862	2389	595
1863	2613	577
1864	2818	582
1865	2964	586
1866	3370	589
1867	3605	604
1868	3212	621
1869	3454	652

<u>Date</u>	<u>1852-62 return</u>	<u>1866 return</u>	<u>1870 statement</u>
1857	524	430	542
1858	535	452	560
1859	548	467	581
1860	506	485	578
1861	531	492	588
1862	529	482	595

(in the first column, the ordinary and lunatic inmates have been totalled).

The knowledge that the poorhouse arrangements were defective, provoked increased intervention from the Board of Supervision, and as overcrowding existed, the offer of poorhouse admission to remove the grounds of a complaint of inadequate relief, was no longer acceptable. The Parochial Board did not appear as efficient as had been supposed, and as the press often attended the monthly Parochial Board meetings, any reports of mismanagement would have had an adverse effect on its reputation. Even if the matter was reserved for discussion at committee meetings, which the press did not attend, Town Councillors might be well aware of the situation, and publicise the facts in various ways, for the Lord Provost of Edinburgh was a member of the Board of Supervision. The City Board planned a new poorhouse, where there would be ample accommodation, with less chance of future criticism, and the offer of indoor relief would be considered 'adequate'. In addition, the policy of giving remedial care on a differential basis to categories of paupers was furthered and the new arrangements met with both the Board of Supervision and the Board of Lunacy approval.

The City Board could have reverted to its former arrangement, instead of building a new poorhouse, but by 1861, there were too

many criticisms being made about the use of outdoor relief for the majority of paupers. The views of the church, the English poor law authorities and voluntary charitable organisations were in general circulation, but the opinions which were later developed by the Charity Organisation Society²⁵ seemed to have a particular influence. This organisation wanted to promote a similar system to that used by Chalmers²⁶ at the beginning of the century, with a thorough investigation of each claim, and close supervision of all recipients. Any other method of giving relief was considered irresponsible, harming the paupers, and increasing the numbers of those who relied on parish help.

The City Inspector was well aware of these views, for they were reported regularly in the Poor Law Magazine, and as a prominent member of the Society of Inspectors, Greig could not afford to be associated with an administration which did not supervise its clients. Both the Society of Inspectors and the Association of Poorhouse Governors²⁷ supported the idea of supervised care, which was claimed to be of benefit to the recipient, but perhaps their support was not entirely based on this ideal. If a Parochial Board decided to control pauperism by offering the majority of claimants indoor relief, many would refuse, and consequently, there would be a reduction in the numbers on the poor roll. This might lead to an inquiry into the numbers of staff employed, with possible redundancy for some, and a reduction in the establishments of both the governor and the inspector. However, if this method of control was combined

25. C.L. Mowat, The Charity Organisation Society, 1869-1913, (Edinburgh, 1961).

26. See p. 7 above.

27. Formed in Edinburgh, 1867.

with more supervised care for each pauper, the intensity of care would require an increased number of employees, a proposition which was no doubt acceptable to the City Board officials.

Similarly, the programme of rehabilitation was more satisfying for the Parochial Board members, because it was a constructive activity aimed at improving the habits of the poor, and the giving of advice was a feature with which most members of the City Board were familiar. When any kind of material help is given, there is a temptation to offer advice at the same time, whether this is requested or not, because the donor feels he has been placed in a position of authority by the fact that his help has been sought. Having granted the request, he usually believes he is entitled to give the recipient the benefit of his knowledge and experience, so that the latter will be able to utilise the help with the maximum effect.

The tendency to give advice can be found in all sections of society, but was particularly evident in the middle and upper classes in the nineteenth century, where occupations or positions often included the giving of orders or instruction. The City Parochial Board was largely composed of business and professional men, and these members were accustomed to giving orders or advice to employees and clients. The services of a doctor or lawyer were sought by people wanting advice, and both the medical and legal professions were used to their advice being followed. The City Board members, therefore, extended their normal routines to poor relief administration, but once the organisation was able to function as a unit, the advice was directed at recipients, without provoking any internal dispute, although not all paupers were prepared to accept the advice, or conform

to the regulations made for their benefit. That many of the rules were made for the administration's convenience was not acknowledged, but paupers who objected were regarded as unco-operative, or ignorant, and, as unreformed characters, could be offered remedial treatment in the poorhouse.

By virtue of their property qualification and availability to attend meetings, the City Board members showed how successfully they had conducted their lives, and no doubt considered themselves well qualified to give advice to the claimants of parish help, who had obviously been less successful in managing their own affairs. As trustees of the parish fund, however, the Parochial Board had a moral responsibility to ensure that relief was not given to any applicant who was not entitled, but once this had been established, the recipients should be assisted to improve their ways of life. A comprehensive assessment procedure and the provision of supervised care was the duty of a responsible Statutory relief authority.

During the period, occupation, success and status became irrevocably linked, and as old values were replaced by new, society in general suffered a loss of confidence. The Victorian era was one of rapid change, perhaps more so than any other period in history, and standards which were accepted without question in 1845, were no longer tolerable fifteen years later. Success in trade and industry became more accepted as symbols of status, rather than the emphasis on birth or patronage, although the change encountered a certain amount of opposition, and in some spheres was successfully resisted. The changes in ways of life, in values, and beliefs, affected all sections of society, for fortunes could be made, and lost with alarming rapidity. To counteract the 'revolution', there

was a tendency for many Victorians to devise organisational structures which would act as a stabilising influence, and give some permanency to their lives. The church, voluntary societies, or the various forms of local government served the purpose for many people, but once the members of any of these groups had developed an organisational procedure, they naturally wished to defend it. Criticisms, particularly if directed at efficiency, were unacceptable, and the Parochial Board members reacted accordingly.

This was very noticeable when the City Board came into conflict with the numerous voluntary charities in Edinburgh,²⁸ all of which had varying aims. Some stressed education, others directed their attention to improving conditions for the poor, but most of them offered the 'lower class' an opportunity to improve 'their station', stressing the advantages of thrift, temperance and employment; the Parochial Board could not afford to be any less idealistic or more negative in its social welfare activities. Supervised relief was in many ways the extension of paternalistic attitudes more common before the increased industrial development, and could be found in Edinburgh society. Mistresses felt obliged to shoulder responsibility towards their servants, restricting their free time, and their associations, while large commercial enterprises such as Jenners for example, provided supervised hostel accommodation for its shop girls.

The emphasis upon work as a natural and necessary part of everyone's life, of particular benefit for the working class, resulted in the Parochial Board policy of providing employment for paupers,

28. R.C. Poor Law. 1909. vol XLII.Cd.4593. lists over 200 charities.

as a means of rehabilitating them, as well as showing them that idleness was not an acceptable way of life. The Board of Lunacy applauded the provision of employment as a form of occupational therapy, and this could be extended to all paupers, but it was easier to promote if the majority were given indoor relief, leaving the respectable to receive outdoor assistance. In this direction however, the Parochial Board had to exercise caution, for it was increasingly obvious from the frequent remarks in the press, that many dwellings in the old town were dilapidated, and as such, were unsuitable houses for those receiving parish relief.

Any ideas that Edinburgh was not as bad as was alleged, were quickly dispelled when Littlejohn's report was published in 1865. He described the conditions in Middle Meal Market Stair for instance, a tenement off the High Street, which had 59 rooms in which 56 families lived. There was no water, sink or lavatory, yet 197 adults and 51 children under five years of age lived in this tenement.²⁹ On the 1852 list of poor, there were 4 recipients of outdoor relief at this address, and paupers still lived there in the 1860's. Under conditions like these, the Parochial Board could not continue to give outdoor relief without incurring criticism.

Not content with describing the sanitary condition of Edinburgh, however, Littlejohn criticised the Parochial Board, suggesting it took great care when awarding outdoor relief, that the housing was suitable for continued habitation. 'The pittance given to paupers through the proverbial economy of boards, representing the ratepayers

29. H.D. Littlejohn, Report on the Sanitary Condition of the City of Edinburgh, (Edinburgh, 1865), p.32.

of our city, are only intended to allow of life being maintained at a legal flicker, and by no means at a steady flame,'³⁰ he stated, and obviously did not approve of the policy of giving outdoor relief at all. He stressed the overcrowding in the old town, which increased the risk of disease 'spreading like wildfire', and the Parochial Board, although continuing to award outdoor relief to the respectable paupers, who perhaps lived in less deplorable housing, offered increased numbers of sick recipients admission to the poorhouse hospital.

Littlejohn influenced the City Parochial Board actions in many ways, because apart from the fact that he often nominated candidates for its election, he was also the medical adviser to the Board of Supervision, in its capacity as the central authority for public health after 1867. When his report was first published, the Parochial Board bought sixty copies for the members edification, and henceforth seemed more willing to offer poorhouse relief to the various categories of paupers previously suggested by the Board of Supervision. In particular, women without male support, whether widows, deserted wives or unmarried mothers, were offered indoor relief, perhaps because the Parochial Board could hardly permit these women to remain in the congested areas in the old town. Furthermore, they could not in future be allowed to show evidence of self help by taking in lodgers, as this would aggravate the shortage of space which existed for the pauper family, and possibly expose mother and daughters to moral danger.

One remark in the report was gratifying; 'the unexpected but

30. H.D. Littlejohn, Report on the Sanitary Condition of the City of Edinburgh, (Edinburgh, 1865), p.42.

very important determination of the City Parochial Board to remove the poorhouse to the country, and to employ their paupers in rural occupation'.³¹ The move appeared to be supported by the ratepayers and evoked little criticism in the press. It was certainly essential to move the poorhouse if the Parochial Board policy of giving remedial care was to continue, but perhaps it was not so necessary to select a site three miles out of the City parish. If the new institution had been rebuilt on the old site, or placed within the City parish boundary, the Parochial Board members and staff would have been more closely involved in its management. This suggestion was not considered feasible by the majority of members, particularly the Poorhouse committee, which stressed the need to have a rural area, well away from the 'evil temptations' in Edinburgh which had contributed to the paupers downfall. 'Comfort for the poor' could only be provided it seemed in the distant parish of Colinton, but the purchase of the 250 acre estate for £29,000 was hardly 'care for the ratepayer'.³²

Ample work could be provided on the estate, but in 1861, there were still areas within easier reach which could have been used. St. Cuthberts had just bought a smaller site within its own parish to build a poorhouse, but there is no evidence to suggest the City Board tried to do likewise. It was also suggested that the ample space could be utilised if any extension was required to the poorhouse, but in view of the fact that more stringent measures were being taken

31. H.D. Littlejohn, Report on the Sanitary Condition of the City of Edinburgh, (Edinburgh, 1865), p.117.

32. See p. 241 above.

to reduce the number of registered paupers, it was not likely that any extension would be required, and indeed, none was necessary, and the poorhouse occupied the same amount of acreage until 1894.

It was also argued that an ample supply of pure water would be available, this having been a continual problem in the old poorhouse, but in any case, full sanitary facilities would necessarily have been incorporated in a new poorhouse within the City parish. Legal action was necessary to provide an ample supply of water at Craiglockhart because of the difficulties with private water rights, and the expense of constructing tanks, laying pipes and installing pumps was considerable. Neither was it possible to erect an asylum, or provide a pauper burial ground, thereby effecting a saving of parish funds, for both ideas were discounted by the Board of Supervision.³³ There were other reasons however, why the distant site was chosen, and these were not directly concerned with the benefits for inmates.

When the Charity workhouse was originally built, it was on the perimeter of the City parish, but by 1860, lay in the centre of a rapidly developing area, and was therefore, a valuable site. It could be sold for considerable profit, either for residential development in the improvement plans such as Chambers Street, a short distance away, or as there was much discussion regarding a site for the new Infirmary, it could be offered for sale for that purpose. The Town Council had the same idea, however, and when it became known that the Parochial Board was negotiating for a site elsewhere, the ownership of the site was disputed. The old poorhouse had been built on Town Council property, and when the ground was no longer used for this

33. See p. 225 above.

specific purpose, it could possibly have been reclaimed by the original owners. After lengthy negotiations and court action, the matter was settled in 1868,³⁴ by which time, Chambers Street development was well under way, and the Infirmary authorities had purchased a site opposite the old poorhouse.

The City Parochial Board petitioned the government to prevent the hospital being built, because it would "depreciate the value of the old poorhouse site",³⁵ but this was to no avail, and the Parochial Board discovered that the site was no longer in demand. It was some years later before it was finally sold, at considerably less profit than had been envisaged, and as an indication of its displeasure, the City Board refused at first to allow the empty site to be used as a vantage point when the hospital foundation stone was laid by the Prince of Wales in 1870, but later hired the area to the High Constables of Edinburgh for the occasion.

Not all the old site could be sold, for, as the Board of Supervision pointed out, the new poorhouse was so far away that some of the old buildings had to be retained as office premises, and the east wing was converted for this purpose. The three mile journey to Craiglockhart proved to have disadvantages, for not only did it isolate inmates, but also the staff, and the governor was able to assume control without much direction from the inspector. Furthermore, despite the Parochial Board argument that the spare ground would be easily sold, this was not the case, and it was let on short term leases until the twentieth century, when the relief authority managed to finally dispose of all

34. P.B.M. 28 April, 1868.

35. P.B.M. 12 February, 1870.

the surplus land.

The new poorhouse proved to be advantageous in other respects, and certainly removed the paupers from the sight of Edinburgh citizens. Supervised care was given to all inmates, while the possibility that an outdoor allowance might be withdrawn was sufficient to control the majority of paupers left in the parish. As well behaved inhabitants, they were barely distinguishable from the 'respectable poor' who were managing without parish help, so the problem of pauperism appeared to be efficiently controlled by the City Parochial Board. Further proof could be seen by any Edinburgh citizen who purchased the Board of Supervision annual reports, for the number of paupers submitted by the City inspector did not increase until 1892, when the slight upward trend was accounted for by a change in the parish boundaries, so ratepayers could be confident that the City Board was effectively fulfilling its duties.

The siting of the poorhouse in another parish had a further advantage, because children born in the hospital section took settlement from Colinton parish, if they became a future charge on the relief funds. In 1881, the Parochial Board of this small rural parish objected, but its court case was unsuccessful.³⁶ Maternity cases continued to be sent from the City parish to be confined in Craiglockhart poorhouse, and the Parochial Board no longer contributed £50 a year to the funds of the Maternity hospital in Edinburgh. Colinton Parochial Board was able to levy rates on the City poorhouse, but although this increased its income, the City Board, as a heritor

36. C.S. Russel v. Greig. 26 January, 1881. 8.R.440.

in Colinton, delegated its inspector to attend all the meetings of the relief authority in Colinton, where he had a vote in any affairs discussed.

Despite the increased involvement as the City Parochial Board members increased their responsibilities towards the paupers, it was discovered that in an efficiently organised administration, this took up less of their time, but the organisation, which was so important to the members, could be disrupted by the pauper himself. He could still complain to the Board of Supervision, but if the poorhouse was approved accommodation, and there was an available place in the institution, his complaint was usually dismissed. The inmate could refuse to conform to the regulations, or refuse to participate in the employment offered, yet he could not be discharged. A certain amount of disciplinary action could be taken by the governor, which often had the desired effect, but if the inmate persisted in his idle ways, he received the minimum standards of care, with no privileges, in the 'dissipated' wards. Under close supervision, and required to regulate his day to a time table, the pauper often found life intolerable, but if he left, he received no further assistance unless he agreed to return to the poorhouse. Paupers who refused to accept the remedial relief offered, either sought assistance elsewhere, or simply did not apply when in need, and the poorhouse gained a reputation as a place where the 'dissipated' were placed because they required rehabilitation. The Parochial Board was able to overcome the majority of consumer objections, but although the members frequently congratulated themselves upon their efficient control of pauperism, they failed to provide a social service for all those entitled to relief. Consequently, the incidence of poverty increased, and was

to remain a problem with which the twentieth century was forced to cope, making increased provisions to provide a social service for all those in need.



Eden Grove

Board

the state

Conclusion

The 1845 Act was a major piece of legislation, for it not only provided the administrative procedure through which local resources could be collected, and converted into public assistance for the entitled poor, but it also created the basic social service system. It established the framework upon which future developments could take place, and it reaffirmed that some people in society were entitled to receive help from the more affluent sector. Any help given should be regular, comprehensive, and adequate in amount, but it should no longer be regarded as a 'charity'. The Parochial Boards were required to implement the law, while the Board of Supervision ensured that local arrangements fulfilled the intention of the Act, and both levels of administration made determined efforts to put the Statute into practice.

The City parish of Edinburgh was fortunate in having ample resources, and this feature, combined with the unusual constitution of the Parochial Board, produced an administration which was not typical for the rest of Scotland. The majority of ratepayers had the opportunity to participate in a democratic procedure, although they did not appear to exercise their rights as frequently as would be expected, yet it was a period when 'representation by the people' was a popular cry. The absence of polling books is an obvious disadvantage in calculating how many voters took an active interest in the Parochial Board elections, but as few of them appeared to have complained, or made a determined attempt to have all the members of the City Board replaced in any one year, it would seem that they were satisfied with the activities of the Parochial Board.

There was no shortage of candidates willing to serve on the

local relief authority and whatever the motives which prompted their association with the Parochial Board, once they became members, the majority tried to mould the administration into an effective unit. They were willing to employ a large staff to fulfil their responsibilities, and at a time when the majority of inspectors received inadequate salaries, the City Board paid its official a generous remuneration. In spite of the Board of Supervision's increasing intervention in local affairs, the City Board established an administration which was applicable to the parish circumstances, and enjoyed an independence which was denied to its successor.

This was mainly due to the absence of an official audit, and as long as relief provisions were financed from local resources, central control could be resisted. Any participation in a government grant incurred more intervention from the central authority, and as standards for relief provisions continued to improve, more reliance was placed on national contributions to local finances. In 1894, the Local Government Board replaced the Board of Supervision, and with the appointment of official auditors, the local authorities for poor relief discovered that their 'discretionary powers' were severely curtailed. This change in the administration was not initiated at local level, but was due to governmental policy to extend centralisation, and consolidate the ad hoc bodies which composed the nineteenth century local government. The Parochial Boards were replaced by Parish Councils which were composed entirely of elected representatives on a three yearly basis. The City parish combined with St. Cuthberts and Canongate to form one large unit, so although financial information concerning poor relief administration is undoubtedly more accurate from 1894, it cannot be compared with any

previous figures, because it is for three parishes, under a strictly supervised auditing system.

The variations in the statistics concerning the City parish finances and number of recipients between 1845 and 1894 indicated in the text, present difficulties in calculating the expenditure in relief provisions, or the number of paupers. The minutes do show however, that the relief provided in the City parish did improve steadily from 1845, although fewer numbers of paupers chose to accept the conditions attached to parish help. Not all the entitled poor were willing to live in the institution provided in spite of the benefits offered, and as will be seen from the photographs in appendix I¹ the interior of Craiglockhart poorhouse was in marked contrast to any description of the old town tenements of that period.

The photographs were probably taken about 1900, but are representative of conditions from an earlier period. The building is still in use as an old people's home, and although it has undergone extensive alteration in recent years, it presents the same external appearance as when it was first opened in 1870. The childrens dayroom² and the hospital wards³ have been radically changed, but the kitchen⁴ and laundry⁵ presented a similar appearance before they were demolished a year ago. The laundry was in the original plans in 1866 and was part of the programme to provide suitable employment for women inmates,

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1. See appendix I below.
 2. See Plate I, appendix I below.
 3. See Plate II, appendix I below.
 4. See Plate III, appendix I below.
 5. See Plate IV, appendix I below.

where they could be closely supervised by the 'labour mistress'.

The provision of employment in the new poorhouse was the result of the City Parochial Board's change of emphasis to more remedial relief, but this policy had the effect of reducing the number of paupers who participated in the social service to which they were legally entitled. The emphasis on improving the character and habits of the paupers, classifying them, with differential treatment, deterred many people from seeking parish help, although they might be in need. The searching inquiry into each applicants resources before relief could be obtained, combined with the close supervision of both indoor and outdoor recipients by officials, caused resentment. To receive parish relief meant a curtailment of liberty, a loss of privacy, and implied that the recipient had somehow failed in society. This stigma deterred many poor from applying for the help to which they were entitled.

In the twentieth century, local provisions were eroded by national schemes to help categories of people in need, with the provision of old age pensions, national health programmes, and social security, all of which could be described as virtually unconditional relief. The trend of specialisation whereby groups of people received a particular kind of help, can be seen in the institutional care offered to children, the aged, and the handicapped, all of whom are accommodated in separate homes, and until 1968, social workers in Scotland also specialised, dealing with different groups of clients. Since then a more generic approach has developed, and opinions again conflict regarding this lack of specialisation, and the benefits of institutional care; a similar divergence of ideas to that found in the nineteenth century.

In the study of the City Parochial Board system many questions remain unanswered because of the lack of information concerning certain aspects of this complex subject. Not all the minute books are available for example, and the records are an administrative account of procedure, although they are less formalised than is usual today. However, 'administration is not a self contained specialism; it is a meeting point',⁶ and in the text, this point of contact between the administrator and the recipient, has been used to illustrate the implementation of the 1845 Act in one large urban parish in Scotland, between 1845 and 1894.

6. D.V. Donnison and V. Chapman, Social Policy and Administration, (London, 1965), p.13.

Appendix A

List of duties of the inspector of poor.

I. Statutory duties under the Poor Law Amendment Act, 1845;8 and 9. Vic.c.83.

Section 24; To be the Returning Officer for Parochial Board elections.

Section 30; To give notice for all Parochial Board meetings.

Section 55; To have custody of all Parochial Board documents; to inquire into all applications for relief, visit those on the poor roll at least twice a year; report to the Parochial Board and Board of Supervision on all poor law matters; to be responsible for all staff.

Section 57; To represent the Parochial Board in all court actions in which it may be involved.

Section 59; To report to the Board of Supervision, all cases of insane or fatuous paupers. (After 1857, this duty transferred to the Board of Lunacy).

Section 70; To deal with all applications for relief, give interim relief and answer all claimants within twenty-four hours.

Section 71; To notify other parishes of any applicant having settlement elsewhere.

Section 73; To obey an order for relief issued by the sheriff.

Section 77; To make arrangements for the removal to England, Ireland and the Isle of Man for any paupers with settlement therein.

Section 79; To take legal action against any paupers who are removed, who return and become chargeable.

Section 80; To take legal action against deserters; (i.e. parents

Appendix A (continued)

who desert their families, husbands who desert their wives, et cetera).

Section 82; To receive fines imposed by the sheriff for contravention of the Poor Law Acts.

II. Statutory duties under other legislation.

1. Registration Act for births, marriages and deaths, 1854;
17 and 18. Vic.c.80.

All accounts under this Act to be kept and paid by the inspector of poor.

2. Vaccination Act, 1863; 20 and 27. Vic.c.108.

Inspector to keep a register of all defaulters according to six monthly return from the registrar; to visit these persons and record the results; to notify each parent and the medical officer of these cases; to notify the registrar of all defaulters not satisfactorily dealt with; to conduct prosecutions as necessary.

3. Lunacy Acts, 1857; 20 and 21. Vic.c.71; 1862; 25 and 26. Vic.c.54.
1866; 29 and 30. Vic.c.51.

Inspector to prepare petitions to the sheriff; to arrange for removal of lunatics to the asylum; to report to the Board of Lunacy; to find suitable homes for any lunatics boarded out; to pay their board and supervise their care; to make regular visits and record any comments in a register for the information of the Board of Lunacy; to visit lunatics in private homes every quarter, or as often as necessary; to supervise the transfer of

Appendix A (continued)

Lunacy Acts continued;

lunatics to the asylum, or from one place to another;
to obtain a licence and sanction to use the poorhouse
wards from the Board of Lunacy; to be curator for
lunatics.

4. Reserve Forces and Militia Acts; (various; e.g. 17 and 18. Vic.c.106.)

Inspector to attend to the publication and the serving
of notices for the army or militia reserve within two
days of an order from the Commanding Officers; to sign
and deal with documents from the War department, regarding
pensions of paupers.

5. Lands Valuation Acts, 1854; 17 and 18. Vic.c.91. 1867; 30 and 31.
Vic.c.80.

Inspector to deal with the assessor roll, the valuation
returns and the poor rate assessment.

(These duties could be assigned to the collector of
poor rates).

6. Industrial School Act, 1866; 29 and 30. Vic.c.118.

Inspector to arrange for care of offenders and visit;
to estimate parental liability.

7. Childrens Act, 1889; 52 and 53. Vic.c.44; Custody of Children
Act, 1891, 54. Vic.c.3.

Inspector to be responsible for carrying out the duties
of loco parentis for orphans and foundlings; to be
the public prosecutor for parents who desert or neglect
their children.

Appendix A (continued)

8. Summary Jurisdiction, (Scotland), Act, 1881; 44 and 45. Vic.c.83.
Inspector to deal with summonses and warrants issued at the instance of the Parochial Board, to be served by the police.
9. Burgh Police, (Scotland), Act, 1892; 55 and 56. Vic.c.55.
Inspector to deal with vagrants and beggars in co-operation with the police.
10. Burial Ground Acts, 1855; 18 and 19 Vic.c.68. 1857; 20 and 21. Vic.c.42.
Inspector to find ground and arrange for the burial of paupers.
11. Pawnbroker Act, 1872; 35 and 36. Vic.c.93.
Inspector to give information to magistrates regarding applicants for licences to trade.
12. Customs and Inland Revenue Act, 1864; 27. Vic.c.18.
Inspectors to deal with licences for persons wishing to trade in tea, coffee, pepper and chocolate.
13. Merchant Shipping Company Act, 1855; 18 and 19. Vic.c.18.
Inspector to deal with recovery of relief from East Indian Company for any Indian natives.
14. Public Health Acts, 1867; 30 and 31. Vic.c.101.
Inspector to deal with lodging house arrangements and the removal of paupers from dangerous premises.
15. Education Act, 1872; 35 and 36. Vic.c.62.
Inspector to deal with applications regarding payment of fees, under section 69.

Appendix A (Continued)

In addition to the above, over the years the Board of Supervision issued inmmmerable rules and regulations covering every aspect of the inspectors duties, all of which were obligatory.

Appendix B.

Diploma issued by the Society of Inspectors of Poor
by kind permission of David Russell.



Faint, mirrored text, likely a watermark or bleed-through, appearing as "Edgar Snow".

Faint, mirrored text, likely a watermark or bleed-through, appearing as "Book".

Faint, mirrored text, likely a watermark or bleed-through, appearing as "THE END".

Society of Inspectors of Poor and Poor Law Officials of Scotland.

Certificate of Proficiency

This is to Certify that

David Russell

23 Melville Terrace, Edinburgh 9.

*has, after examination, been found to be proficient
in the Law and Practice of and relating to the
Poor Law Acts and the other Acts of Parliament
administered by Parish Councils in Scotland.*

At Edinburgh this *eight*
day of *April* 1936.

William M. Hutchinson

{ Chairman of the
Board of Examiners.

Arthur Cowan

{ President and Secretary
of the Society of Inspectors
of Poor and Poor
Law Officials
of Scotland.

John Campbell



Appendix C.

Abstract of the receipts and expenditure of the City
parish of Edinburgh, as shown in the appendix of the
Board of Supervision annual return, 1892-93.

Appendix D.

Comparative statement for the years 1853-54 of
the income and expenditure for the City Parochial
Board, Edinburgh, with details of figures submitted
to the Board of Supervision for inclusion in the
ninth annual report.



Edinburgh City

Board

THE PRINTED

YEAR ENDING MAY 1853.		YEAR TO THE MAY 1854.		ALLOCATION IN NINTH ANNUAL RETURN TO THE BOARD OF SUPERVISION.											
RECEIPTS.		RECEIPTS.		INCREASE.		DECREASE.		FIRST.		SECOND.		THIRD.		TOTAL.	
£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
I. Cash Balances due,		17,184 0 1		...		802 2 1		16,381 18 0		...		...		16,381 18 0	
II. Assessments Collected— Of Current Year, £10,381 18 0 Less compensation paid St Cuthbert's, 450 0 0		1,314 2 7 19 12 6		...		265 1 5 3 5 10		1,049 1 2 16 6 8		...		...		1,049 17 8½	
III. Rents,		604 6 0½ 331 13 3 34 2 6		...		...		...		...		...		1,041 17 8½	
IV. In-door Receipts— 1. Rental in Workhouse, 2. Work executed, 3. Casual Revenue,		637 16 1 587 15 3 43 0 6½		23 10 0½ 63 2 0 8 18 0½		...		...		...		...		637 16 1 587 15 3 43 0 6½	
V. Mortifications.		34 0 0		0 9 0		...		...		...		...		34 9 0	
VI. Contribution on Advances to Country Parishes,		40 16 0		5 3 1½		...		...		...		...		45 19 1½	
VII. Medical Relief— 1. Government Grant, 2. Temporary Towed Row, 3. Hospital, Board in,		356 14 0 134 14 6 67 13 6		134 15 6 67 13 6		32 18 0		...		...		...		323 16 0 134 14 6 67 13 6	
VIII. Interest,		149 19 1½		230 14 10½		...		...		...		...		379 14 19	
IX. Out-Pensions— 1. In Cash, 2. In Clothing, 3. In Rents, 4. In Education, 5. Residents in other Parishes, 6. Apprentices, 7. Travelling out, 8. Paid other Parishes,		82 1 0½ 1 9 0 4 0 0 4 12 8 5 14 5 10 14 7 1 2 4 2 15 8		82 1 0½ 1 9 0 4 0 0 4 12 8 5 14 5 10 14 7 1 2 4 3 15 8		...		...		...		...		21 4 6½ 1 4 6 4 0 0 4 10 4 5 14 5 10 14 7 1 2 4 3 15 8	
X. Insurance— 1. Compensation, 2. In Cash, 3. In Clothing, 4. In Education, &c. by other Parishes, 5. Paid from Vestments, 6. For House from office,		52 10 0 0 19 0 0 11 0 0 5 0 11 2 0 13 14 6		52 10 0 0 19 0 0 11 0 0 5 0 11 2 0 13 14 6		...		...		...		...		52 10 0 0 19 0 0 11 0 0 5 0 11 2 0 13 14 6	
Carried Over.		20,516 13 9½		238 13 10½		1,102 7 4		10,975 13 8½		...		...		20,415 13 8½	

AGGREGATION IN SIXTH ANNUAL RETURN TO THE BOARD OF SUPERVISION.

	PAYMENTS.	PAYMENTS.	INCREASE.	DECREASE.	FIRST. On Relief of Poor on the full or partial relief.	SECOND. On Relief of Civil Poor.	THIRD. Medical Relief.	FOURTH. Maintenance.	FIFTH. Law Expenses.	SIXTH. General Sanitary Miscellaneous.	SEVENTH. Poorhouse Buildings.	TOTAL. Amount of Money Expended.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
OUT-DOOR POOR.												
Bread.	594 14 72	951 10 53	356 15 92	...	951 10 53	...	...	...	...	...	...	951 10 53
Fuel.	10 5 5	12 16 6	2 11 1	...	12 16 6	...	...	...	...	...	...	12 16 6
Beer.	82 10 23	97 15 33	15 5 10	...	97 15 33	...	...	...	...	...	...	97 15 33
Coal.	442 7 63	450 8 94	108 1 3	...	450 8 94	...	...	...	...	...	...	450 8 94
Wages.	33 17 21	58 4 6	24 7 33	...	58 4 6	...	...	...	...	...	...	58 4 6
Grain.	435 8 11	489 15 23	54 6 3	...	489 15 23	...	...	...	...	...	...	489 15 23
Tea and Sugar.	294 18 31	310 3 01	15 4 9	...	310 3 01	...	...	...	...	...	...	310 3 01
Butter.	45 8 7	53 11 33	8 2 81	...	53 11 33	...	...	...	...	...	...	53 11 33
Cheese.	38 3 0	35 16 6	...	2 6 6	35 16 6	...	...	...	...	...	...	35 16 6
Swiss Milk.	69 16 91	115 1 53	45 4 8	...	115 1 53	...	...	...	...	...	...	115 1 53
Butter Milk.	218 13 81	246 11 1	27 17 44	...	246 11 1	...	...	...	...	...	...	246 11 1
Beer, Sago, &c.	53 14 93	49 8 53	27 14 2	4 6 6	...	...	49 8 31	...	...	...	...	49 8 31
Whisky, Wine, &c.	41 14 4	69 8 6	...	...	...	...	69 8 6	...	...	...	...	69 8 6
Tobacco and Snuff.	56 16 23	36 16 4	0 0 11	...	...	...	36 16 4	...	...	...	...	36 16 4
Vegetables.	44 9 11	50 1 7	5 11 8	...	50 1 7	...	...	...	...	...	...	50 1 7
Maintenance.	2,412 19 72	3,127 8 10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3,127 8 10
Shoes and Clothing.	392 16 91	349 18 41	...	42 18 41	349 18 41	...	...	...	...	...	...	349 18 41
Medicine.	50 0 0	50 0 0	...	...	...	...	50 0 0	...	...	...	...	50 0 0
Salaries.	638 5 2	674 15 0	36 9 10	...	...	...	50 0 0	634 15 0	...	...	...	674 15 0
Coal.	256 4 8	356 4 31	100 0 01	...	356 4 31	...	...	...	...	...	...	356 4 31
Sago, &c.	100 3 3	89 8 101	...	16 11 41	89 8 101	...	...	...	...	...	...	89 8 101
Water.	20 0 0	22 0 0	2 0 0	...	22 0 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	22 0 0
Gas.	74 9 11	80 5 6	5 15 7	...	80 5 6	...	...	...	...	...	...	80 5 6
Foodstuffs.	55 12 41	43 17 11	...	11 14 31	...	...	...	43 17 11	...	...	...	43 17 11
Repairs.	41 18 11	90 13 91	54 15 8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	90 13 91
Furnishings.	238 5 101	270 12 71	32 6 91	...	270 12 71	...	...	...	...	...	...	270 12 71
Sum of In-Door.	4,313 15 31	5,164 5 21	850 9 101	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
OUT-DOOR POOR.												
Out-Pension.	292 4 01	970 11 03	378 10 0	...	970 11 03	...	...	...	...	...	...	970 11 03
Cash, General Payments.	4,550 1 2	4,652 19 71	92 18 51	...	4,652 19 71	...	...	...	...	...	...	4,652 19 71
Charitable Pay.	567 15 8	629 9 6	91 13 10	...	629 9 6	...	...	...	...	...	...	629 9 6
Education.	73 9 9	55 8 101	20 0 101	...	55 8 101	...	...	...	...	...	...	55 8 101
Recess.	215 19 14	215 19 14	...	...	215 19 14	...	...	...	...	...	...	215 19 14
Foodstuffs.	18 15 4	18 15 4	...	...	18 15 4	...	...	...	...	...	...	18 15 4
Pay in other Institutions.	63 16 6	25 12 0	...	38 4 6	25 12 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	25 12 0
Pay in other Parishes.	58 14 10	58 14 10	...	...	58 14 10	...	...	...	...	...	...	58 14 10
Medical Expenses.	1 9 6	1 9 6	...	...	1 9 6	...	...	...	...	...	...	1 9 6
Amputation Fees.	55 6 91	60 12 1	3 5 31	...	60 12 1	...	...	...	...	...	...	60 12 1
Investigation.	5 16 7	5 16 7	...	...	5 16 7	...	...	...	...	...	...	5 16 7
Pay other Parishes.	545 1 91	380 7 13	164 14 71	...	380 7 13	...	...	...	...	...	...	380 7 13
Advertising.	3 3 0	2 11 6	...	0 11 6	...	...	...	2 11 6	...	...	...	2 11 6
Carried forward.	10,778 12 43	11,979 19 91	1,400 17 81	289 10 31	10,945 12 101	237 2 71	376 5 5	...	...	...	...	10,945 12 101

[illegible]

ALLOCATION IN NINTH ANNUAL RETURN TO THE BOARD OF SUPERVISION.

	PAYMENTS.	PAYMENTS.	INCREASE.	DECREASE.	FIRST.	SECOND.	THIRD.	FOURTH.	FIFTH.	SIXTH.	SEVENTH.	TOTAL
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	On Relief of Poor on the Roll or Registered.	On Relief of Casual Poor.	Medical Relief.	Management.	Law Expenses.	General Sanitary Measures.	Poorhouse Buildings.	Amount of Money Expended.
Total Summations brought forward, 1. Out-Door Poor—Continued.	13,503 12 10½	17,882 6 8½	2,779 17 5½	450 3 7½	£ s. d. 14,684 12 2½	£ s. d. 534 16 0	£ s. d. 3056 3 11½	£ s. d. 1294 16 6½	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d. 111 17 4	£ s. d. 17,682 6 11½
2. Cholera Expenditure—Continued.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
(2.) Hospital Second Account.—Continued	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Repairs, Building.	...	0 4 6	0 4 6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 4 6	0 4 6
Gas.	...	0 15 9	0 15 9	...	0 15 9	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 15 9
(3.) Dispensaries.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Incubators.	...	4 8 0	4 8 0	...	...	...	...	4 8 0	...	...	...	4 8 0
Medicines.	...	1 5 4	1 5 4	...	...	...	1 5 4	...	...	...	...	1 5 4
Attendance.	...	70 10 2	70 10 2	...	...	...	70 10 2	...	...	...	...	70 10 2
(4.) Sanitary Operations.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Proportion, the Joint Sanitary Committee of Police and Parochial Boards.	5 18 0	9 0 0	3 2 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	9 0 0	...	9 0 0
Proportion, the Sanitary Committee of the Parochial Boards of Edinburgh, St. Cuthbert's, and Canongate.	...	5 16 11	5 16 11	...	...	...	...	...	...	5 16 11	...	5 16 11
Wages to Labourers.	...	82 9 9	82 9 9	...	...	...	...	...	...	82 9 9	...	82 9 9
Miscellaneous.	...	2 9 9	2 9 9	...	...	...	...	...	...	2 9 9	...	2 9 9
Incubators.	...	4 16 8	4 16 8	...	...	...	...	...	...	4 16 8	...	4 16 8
Salaries.	...	25 12 6	25 12 6	...	...	...	...	25 12 6	...	25 12 6	...	25 12 6
Incubators.	...	30 7 4	30 7 4	...	...	...	...	...	...	30 7 4	...	30 7 4
St. Cuthbert's, 1848-9.	11 3 9	0 7 6	...	10 16 3	...	...	...	...	...	0 7 6	...	0 7 6
Miscellaneous.	2 6 5	...	...	2 6 5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
(1.) Paper Labour, Sewing.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Carriages.	...	0 5 6	0 5 6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Needles, &c.	2 19 1	0 15 7½	...	2 3 5½	0 15 7½	...	...	0 5 6	...	...	...	0 5 6
Premiums to Sewers.	...	1 6 10	1 6 10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1 6 10
Rations ditto.	...	19 12 0½	19 12 0½	...	19 0 0½	...	...	...	...	...	...	19 0 0½
Printing and Stationery.	...	0 12 8	0 12 8	...	...	...	...	0 6 0	...	...	...	0 6 0
Teacher's Salary.	3 12 0	34 14 0	31 2 0	...	...	...	...	34 14 0	...	...	...	34 14 0
(2.) Paper Labour, Waste Land.	1 2 6	7 1 10	5 19 4	...	...	...	...	7 1 10	...	...	...	7 1 10
Sum of Out-Door Poor.	11,215 19 3½	12,960 14 2	1,744 14 10½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
II. GENERAL EXPENDITURE.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1. Advertising.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Treasurer's Department.	6 0 0	24 6 1½	18 6 1½	...	...	...	...	24 6 1½	...	...	...	24 6 1½
Collector's ditto.	1 5 0	1 3 0	...	...	...	...	...	1 3 0	...	...	...	1 3 0
2. Printing and Stationery.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Treasurer's Department.	183 14 2½	144 0 9	...	59 18 5½	...	...	...	144 0 10	...	...	...	144 0 10
Collector's ditto.	19 2 10	19 2 10	...	...	...	...	...	17 1 10	...	...	...	17 1 10
Carried forward.	15,739 14 8	18,313 12 1	3,079 0 7½	505 3 2½	14,706 10 5½	534 16 0	3127 19 5½	1563 16 1½	...	125 7 11	112 1 10	...

ALLOCATION IN NINTH ANNUAL RETURN TO THE BOARD OF SUPERVISION.

	PAYMENTS.	PAYMENTS.	INCREASE.	DECREASE.	FIRST. On Relief of Poor on the Roll or Registered.	SECOND. On Relief of Casual Poor.	THIRD. Medical Relief.	FOURTH. Management.	FIFTH. Law Expenses.	SIXTH. General Sanitary Measures.	SEVENTH. Poorhouse Buildings.	TOTAL. Amount of Money Expended.
Total Summations brought forward,	£ s. d. 15,739 14 8	£ s. d. 18,313 12 1	£ s. d. 3,079 0 7½	£ s. d. 505 3 2½	£ s. d. 14,706 10 5½	£ s. d. 534 16 0	£ s. d. 11,27 19 5½	£ s. d. 1553 16 1½	£ s. d. ...	£ s. d. 125 7 11	£ s. d. 112 1 10	£ s. d. 18,169 11 3½
III. General Expenditure—Continued												
3. Incidental Expenses of Management.												
Treasurer's Department, Postages,	32 0 1	28 0 11	...	3 19 2	...	...	...	28 0 11	...	...	...	28 0 11
Ditto ditto, Coals,	10 9 0	17 19 9	7 10 9	...	...	...	...	17 19 9	...	...	...	17 19 9
Ditto ditto, Water,	1 0 0	1 0 0	...	...	...	...	...	1 0 0	...	...	...	1 0 0
Ditto ditto, Gas,	6 5 5	6 12 5	0 7 0	...	...	...	...	6 12 5	...	...	...	6 12 5
Ditto ditto, Doorkeepers, &c.	39 5 0½	28 2 10½	...	11 2 1½	...	...	...	28 2 10½	...	...	...	28 2 10½
Collector's Department, Stamps,	3 17 6	10 0 0	6 2 6	...	...	...	...	10 0 0	...	...	...	10 0 0
Ditto ditto, Rent,	27 10 0	27 10 0	...	...	...	...	...	27 10 0	...	...	...	27 10 0
Ditto ditto, Gas, &c.	11 13 3	8 1 1	...	3 12 2	...	...	...	8 1 1	...	...	...	8 1 1
Ditto ditto, Coals,	0 19 6	1 5 10	0 6 4	...	...	...	...	1 5 10	...	...	...	1 5 10
4. Repairs and Furnishings.												
Treasurer's Department, Buildings,	...	7 9 10	7 9 10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7 9 10	7 9 10
Ditto ditto, Furnishings,	29 5 3½	24 15 11½	...	4 9 4½	...	...	...	24 15 11½	...	...	...	24 15 11½
Collector's Department, Furnishings,	...	4 11 5	4 11 5	...	...	...	...	4 11 5	...	...	...	4 11 5
5. Salaries.												
Treasurer's Department,	623 3 2	562 17 0	...	30 6 2	...	...	...	562 17 0	...	...	...	562 17 0
Collector's Department,	598 0 10½	572 2 8	...	25 18 2½	...	...	...	572 2 8	...	...	...	572 2 8
Clerical Accounts,	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Treasurer's Department,	26 5 0	26 5 0	...	...	...	...	...	26 5 0	...	...	...	26 5 0
Collector's Department,	26 5 0	26 5 0	...	...	...	...	...	26 5 0	...	...	...	26 5 0
7. Law Department.												
(1.) Court of Sessions Cases,	722 4 2	594 11 10	...	127 12 4	...	...	...	2 8 11	...	...	...	2 8 11
(2.) Sheriff Court Cases,	89 19 3	16 0 10	...	73 18 5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
(3.) Arbitration Cases,	77 17 11	128 7 4	50 9 5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
(4.) Investigations,	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
(5.) Claims from other Parishes,	...	3 4 5	3 4 5	...	...	...	...	3 4 5	...	...	...	3 4 5
(6.) Claims against other Parishes,	...	7 13 4	7 13 4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
(7.) Salaries,	356 9 0	356 6 10	...	0 3 0	...	...	...	314 6 0	...	...	...	314 6 0
(8.) Incidents,	24 13 3	25 9 11	0 16 8	...	...	...	...	19 3 11	...	...	...	19 3 11
8. Election Expenses.												
Advocates, &c.	19 11 5	15 6 9	...	4 5 5	...	...	...	15 6 0	...	...	...	15 6 0
Surveyor's Salary,	20 0 0	20 0 0	10 0 0	...	...	...	...	20 0 0	...	...	...	20 0 0
9. Annals,	160 0 0	160 0 0	...	...	...	...	...	160 0 0	...	...	...	160 0 0
10. Types for Printing Press,	17 18 3½	15 13 3	...	2 5 0½	...	...	...	15 13 3	...	...	...	15 13 3
11. Repayments of Assessments,	8 2 3	7 1 10½	...	1 0 4½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
12. Repayment to Collector,	0 0 9	0 1 7	0 0 10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
13. Taxes and Repairs	28 4 0	...	...	28 4 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
On Houses, Forests & Wind,	0 12 0	0 9 5½	...	0 2 6½	...	...	...	0 9 5½	...	...	...	0 9 5½
On Houses, Rose Street,	5 19 3½	3 3 1 10	...	2 17 5½	...	...	...	3 1 10	...	...	...	3 1 10
On Coach Stable Box, Forrester	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Road,	1 10 0	1 0 0	...	0 10 0	...	...	...	1 0 0	...	...	...	1 0 0
Sum of General Ex.	3,119 0 9	2,879 11 11½	...	239 8 9½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Carried forward,	19,618 15 4½	21,694 11 4½	2,175 2 1½	925 7 0	14,706 10 5½	534 16 0	11,27 19 5½	1,553 16 1½	...	125 7 11	112 1 10	20,478 7 3½

1853.

1854.

ALLOCATION IN NINTH ANNUAL RETURN TO THE BOARD OF SUPERVISION.

	PAYMENTS.	PAYMENTS.	INCREASE.	DECREASE.	FIRST. On Relief of Poor on the Roll or Registered.	SECOND. On Relief of Casual Poor.	THIRD. Medical Relief.	FOURTH. Management.	FIFTH. Law Expenses.	SIXTH. General Sanitary Measures.	SEVENTH. Pecuniary Buildings.	TOTAL. Amount of Ninth Annual Return.
Total Summations brought forward,	£ s. d. 18,648 15 4½	£ s. d. 21,004 11 4½	£ s. d. 3,181 2 11½	£ s. d. 825 7 0	£ s. d. 11,706 10 5½	£ s. d. 524 16 0	£ s. d. 1127 19 5½	£ s. d. 3434 1 10½	£ s. d. ...	£ s. d. 125 7 11	£ s. d. 119 11 8	£ s. d. 20,048 7 4½
IV.—COMPENSATION TO ST CUTHBERT'S PARISH.	450 0 0	450 0 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
V.—COUNTRY PARISHES.	19,008 15 4½	21,454 11 4½	3,181 2 11½	825 7 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Cases in Suspense.	688 5 0½	710 12 9½	22 7 9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Admitted Cases.	2,240 0 5½	3,071 7 2½	822 6 9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	697 5 6½
VI.—ADVANCES TO BE RE- PAID.	317 18 8½	229 6 9½	...	58 11 11½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
The following are Balancing Entries:—	22,352 19 7½	25,495 18 2	4,923 17 5½	883 18 11½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
VII.—BANK DEPOSITS.	22,713 12 11	22,581 9 10	...	132 3 1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
VIII.—OUTSTANDING DEBTS.	387 9 6	...	...	387 9 6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
IX.—STOCK ON HAND.	...	86 0 6½	86 0 6½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
X.—CASH BALANCES.	9 11 0	82 7 5½	72 16 5½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gross Totals.	45,464 13 0½	48,245 16 0½	4,184 14 6	3,403 11 6½	11,706 10 5½	1232 1 6½	1127 19 5½	3434 1 10½	...	125 7 11	119 11 8	20,745 12 16.

SUM OF EXPENDITURE AS RETURNED TO THE BOARD OF SUPERVISION.

Appendix E.

Abstract of income and expenditure of the City parish
of Edinburgh from 15th May, 1852 to 14th May 1862.

Appendix F.

Statistics for the number of paupers in the City
parish of Edinburgh, as shown in the appendix of
the Board of Supervision annual return, 1892-93.



Edinburgh

Board

of Supervision

1892-93

No. of Parishes.	County and Parish.	Population in 1881.	Number of Paupers of all classes relieved on								
			14th September 1884.		14th January 1884.		14th May 1884.		Mean of the three preceding periods.		
			Paupers.	Depen- dents.	Paupers.	Depen- dents.	Paupers.	Depen- dents.	Paupers.	Depen- dents.	
33	Mossburn -	500	7	3	7	3	7	7	4	7	3
34	Perpont -	1,063	10	12	11	12	11	11	11	11	12
35	Ruthwell -	836	14	4	13	4	14	3	14	4	4
36	St Mungo -	603	13	2	13	2	11	3	12	2	2
37	Sanquhar -	2,910	40	13	38	11	39	10	39	11	11
38	Tinwald -	902	13	7	13	6	13	7	13	6	6
39	Torthorwald -	921	25	8	24	8	22	7	24	8	8
40	Tundergarth -	439	4	6	4	6	5	7	4	6	6
41	Tyron -	359	7	1	6	...	6	...	6	...	...
42	Wamphray -	458	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
43	Westralink -	454	9	3	9	2	8	2	9	3	3
Total		74,245	1,081	616	1,081	576	1,066	581	1,076	581	581
EDINBURGH.											
1	Borthwick -	3,102	45	30	45	28	44	25	45	28	28
2	Calder, Mid -	3,126	23	35	21	34	19	28	21	37	34
3	Calder, West -	8,456	97	96	101	101	98	86	99	94	94
4	Carrington -	563	7	6	10	13	10	10	9	9	9
5	Cockpen -	4,495	53	26	53	28	51	26	54	27	27
6	Colinton -	4,549	65	48	65	53	63	49	64	50	50
7	Conspicuous -	2,329	30	14	29	13	30	13	30	13	13
8	Cramond -	3,077	41	31	43	27	37	22	40	27	27
9	Craunton -	839	12	10	12	9	12	9	12	9	9
10	Crichton -	946	18	14	19	14	18	13	18	14	14
11	Currie -	2,580	26	28	24	10	25	13	25	17	17
12	Dalkeith -	7,704	112	86	126	82	116	78	118	82	82
13	Duddingston -	9,643	95	50	104	42	95	50	98	47	47
14	Edinburgh -	55,563	1,221	417	1,278	379	1,269	488	1,256	425	425
15	Fala -	285	5	5	7	4	7	4	6	6	6
16	Glencross -	1,451	15	16	15	12	15	12	15	13	13
17	Heriot -	443	2	4	2	4	2	4	2	4	4
18	Inverak -	11,509	146	93	147	90	147	90	147	91	91
19	Kilsnair -	3,362	29	21	33	21	33	22	33	21	21
20	Lasswade -	10,455	58	75	105	104	110	89	104	59	59
21	Leith, North -	21,747	233	164	227	183	242	171	234	173	173
22	Leith, South -	36,874	530	450	572	488	548	448	550	455	455
23	Liberton -	8,266	145	123	148	123	142	119	145	113	113
24	Newbattle -	3,560	26	11	29	10	23	18	23	15	15
25	Newton -	1,180	27	15	24	15	25	9	25	15	15
26	Penrith -	4,914	69	46	69	46	74	68	71	61	61
27	Ratho -	1,839	32	10	30	8	31	6	31	6	6
28	St Cuthberts Comb -	195,471	2,051	1,318	2,111	1,320	2,190	1,488	2,117	1,571	1,571
29	Stow -	2,201	24	20	22	21	21	16	22	22	22
30	Temple -	455	6	...	8	3	8	2	7	7	7
Total		433,964	5,268	3,203	5,479	3,300	5,513	3,476	5,427	3,354	3,354

[illegible]

Appendix G

Table 1.	The headings used in the poor roll.	p. 306.
Table 2.	The City parish return to the Board of Supervision, 1852-53.	p. 312.
Table 3.	The numbers in each section of the roll. The sex and age. The number of paupers who lived out of Edinburgh.	p. 313.
Table 4.	The year when first received relief.	p. 314.
Table 5.	Residences of the outdoor poor, children and apprentices. The state of the dwellings. Areas within 6 miles and within 90 miles of Edinburgh.	p. 315.
Table 6.	Place of birth; grouped in counties for Scotland.	p. 316.
Table 7.	Age of paupers.	p. 317.
Table 8.	Marital status. Parental details for children boarded out. Siblings receiving relief.	p. 318.
Table 9.	Number of dependent children declared by paupers, with further details. School attendance for dependent children. School attendance for children boarded out, and progress.	p. 320.
Table 10.	Behaviour of recipients.	p. 321.
Table 11.	Grounds for relief.	p. 322.
Table 12.	Religion of paupers.	p. 324.
Table 13.	Occupation of paupers. Relief and earnings. Rate of board for children.	p. 325.
		p. 326.
		p. 327.
		p. 328.
		p. 330.

Appendix G (continued).

Table 14.	Any other source of income.	p. 331.
Table 15.	State of health.	p. 332.
Table 16.	Permanent or temporary.	p. 333.
Table 17.	Information about guardians, (nurses).	p. 333.



Eden Grove

Board

No. 3128

3

Table 1.

List of column headings given on the printed roll, with brief explanations.

Section I : Outdoor Poor1. Paid in country.

City parish paupers living in other parishes, for whom the City inspector paid allowances through the inspector of the parish concerned.

Table 3.c.

2. Name of applicant.

Women often have two or three surnames.

3. Year of admission.

The date on which the pauper was first given relief, although may have been paid intermittently since.

Table 4.

4. Residence and state.

The address and condition of the homes of the outdoor poor; the condition denoted by the following symbols on the roll:-

Cl; cleanly; To.Cl; tolerably clean; F; filthy.

From this information, addresses have been grouped in areas.

Table 5a.and 5.b.

5. Place of birth.

To establish parish of settlement. The parishes given on the roll have been grouped into counties for Scotland.

Table 6.

6. Age.

Given as an exact figure on the roll, not the date of birth.

Table 7.

7. Condition.

Marital status, denoted on the roll by the following symbols:-

M; married; W; widowed; S; single.

Table 8.a.

Table 1. (continued).

8. Number and ages of dependent children.

Information often omitted or in the wrong column and has been supplemented from the minutes.

Table 9.a.

9. Behaviour.

Single word entries.

Table 10.

10. Grounds of relief.

Given as single words or phrase, but has been supplemented from other columns.

Table 11.

11. Place of worship and whether a member or a hearer.

Given as denomination or actual church, sometimes with prefix:-

M; member; H; hearer.

Table 12a. and 12.b.

12. Occupation.

No indication of whether this was current or past; no place of employment given.

Table 13.a.

13. Weekly earnings.

This has been calculated with the amount of relief given.

Table 13.b.

14. Other assistance.

Information did not always include the amount.

Table 14.

15. Aliment.

The monetary allowances only; this has been calculated with weekly earnings.

Table 13.b.

16. State of health.

Information has been used to supplement 'grounds of relief'.

Table 15.

Table 1. (continued).

17. Children at school and at whose expense.

In the absence of any comment, it is presumed that the Parochial Board would pay.

Table 9.b.

18. Means of childrens' religious instruction.

Information usually included with data regarding school.

Table 9.b.

Section II : Indoor Poor
1. Year of admission.

When first received relief, not necessarily when first entered the poorhouse.

Table 4.

2. Name of applicant.3. Condition.

Refers to marital status.

Table 8.a.

4. Age.

Given as exact figure, not the date of birth.

Table 7.

5. Parish of birth.

Table 6.

6. State of health.

Single word entries; has been used to supplement 'causes' for relief.

Table 15.

7. Religious persuasion.

Names of churches not given.

Table 12.a.

8. Member or Hearer.

As for Outdoor section.

Table 12.b.

Table 1. (continued).

9. Behaviour.

Single word entries.

Table 10.

10. How employed in the poorhouse.

Table 13.a.

11. Friends who might assist.

Little detail given.

Table 14.

12. Likely to be permanent or temporary.

The poor roll was supposed to be for the permanent poor.

Table 16.

13. Causes apparently leading to poorhouse.

May indicate why pauper was not given outdoor relief.

Table 11.

Section III : Insane poor in Morningside asylum.

Information in this section is very sparse.

1. Year of admission.

Table 4.

2. Name of applicants.

3. Place of Birth.

Table 6.

4. Age.

Table 7.

5. Condition.

Marital status.

Table 8.

Table 1. (continued).

6. Occupation.

Probably referred to previous employment.

Table 13.a.

Section IV : Children Boarded Out.

1. Name.

This information has been used to connect parents and siblings.

2. Place of Birth.

Table 6.

3. Age.

Table 7.

4. Name of parent.

Mothers name often different from that given for father, no indication whether legally married, or if the parents were receiving relief. Data has been supplemented from the minutes where possible.

Table 8.a. 8.c.

5. State of health.

Table 15.

6. With whom boarded and where.

Names and addresses given.

Table 5.a. 5.b. and 17.

7. Board per half quarter.

Table 13.c.

8. Progress at school.

Single word comments in most cases.

Table 9.c.

9. Name of school and teacher.

Table 9.c.

10. General behaviour.

Table 10.

Table 1. (continued).

11. What assistance may be expected from any quarter.

Rarely any comment in this column.

Table 14.

Section V : Apprentices Boarded Out

Very little information given for this section.

1. Name.

2. With whom boarded and where.

Table 5.

3. Rate per half quarter.

Table 13.c.

4. Masters name and trade.

Has been used to show possible future occupation.

Table 13.a.

TABLE 2

RETURNS MADE BY INSPECTOR OF EDINBURGH CITY P/B FOR YEARENDING 14 MAY 1853

<u>INCOME</u>	£	s	d	<u>EXPENDITURE</u>	£	s	d
From Assessment:	18039.	19.	8	Registered & Casual			
From Other Sources:	3080.	14.	10 ³ / ₄	poor:	15126.	1.	11 ¹ / ₂
				Medical relief:	546.	13.	3 ¹ / ₄
Total.. ..	21120.	14.	6 ³ / ₄	Management:	3295.	3.	6 ³ / ₄
				Litigation:	914.	14.	7
					19882.	13.	4 ¹ / ₂

NUMBERS GETTING RELIEF:

	MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
Relieved on Poor Poll	944	1987	2931
Died or ceased to get relief	393	807	1200
Casual poor	---	---	2426
Refused relief by inspector	---	---	470
Given relief by Sheriff:	---	---	57
Removals	142	223	365
Lunatic paupers	79	94	173
Orphans/deserted children	272	192	464

Extract from Board of Supervision 7th Annual report to Parliament
for the year 15th May 1852 to 14th May 1853.

TABLE 3

a) NUMBERS IN EACH SECTION

Classification	I.D.P.	O.D.P.	C.B.O.	App	Ins.Po.
Out Door	---	937	---	---	---
Indoor West	400	---	---	---	---
Indoor East	164	---	---	---	---
Boarded West	---	---	156	---	---
Boarded East	---	---	206	---	---
Apprentices	---	---	---	30	---
Insane in Asylum	---	---	---	---	38

b) NUMBERS IN EACH SECTION ACCORDING TO SEX & 15 YEARS ⁺

INDOOR				OUTDOOR				C.B.O.		App	Insane	
M	F	B	G	M	F	B	G	M	F	M	M	F
151	-	-	-	158	-	-	-	-	-	30	21	-
-	-	37	-	-	-	20	-	210	-	-	-	-
-	348	-	-	-	749	-	-	-	-	-	-	17
-	-	-	28	-	-	-	10	-	152	-	-	-

c) NUMBERS IN EACH SECTION WHO LIVE OUT OF EDINBURGH

OUTDOOR POOR				C.B.O.		App
M	F	B	G	M	F	M
4	20	1	2	174	118	8

Symbols throughout tables:-

O.D.P. = Outdoor Poor
 I.D.P. = Indoor Poor
 C.B.O. = Children Boarded Out
 App = Apprentices
 Ins.Po. = Insane Poor

M = Males
 F = Females
 B = Boys (0-15yrs)
 G = Girls (0-15yrs)

YEAR FIRST ADMITTED TO RELIEF

YEAR	INDOOR POOR				OUTDOOR POOR				INSANE	
	M	F	B	G	M	F	B	G	M	F
1811	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1815	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1816	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1818	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
1821	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
1823	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
1824	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
1825	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
1826	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
1828	-	3	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
1830	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
1831	-	2	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
1832	-	4	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-
1833	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
1834	-	7	-	-	1	4	-	-	-	-
1835	1	3	-	-	5	6	-	-	-	-
1836	-	3	-	-	1	4	-	-	1	-
1837	-	9	-	-	1	9	-	-	1	-
1838	4	5	-	-	1	16	-	-	-	-
1839	-	6	-	-	1	15	-	-	-	-
1840	1	4	-	-	2	27	-	1	1	-
1841	3	8	-	-	-	20	-	-	1	-
1842	-	3	-	-	5	38	-	-	1	1
1843	2	8	-	-	7	30	1	-	2	-
1844	2	9	-	-	7	39	-	-	1	-
1845	6	30	1	1	5	49	2	-	1	-
1846	9	17	-	2	24	100	1	-	1	-
1847	11	33	-	-	27	88	-	-	1	3
1848	22	31	1	-	22	67	2	1	1	-
1849	21	34	1	-	12	48	2	1	1	4
1850	19	32	4	3	8	36	1	3	1	3
1851	21	40	4	8	12	73	6	3	5	3
1852	26	47	26	14	7	53	5	1	1	2
Date not given	-	4	-	-	-	13	-	-	-	-
Total	151	348	37	28	158	749	20	10	21	17

TABLE 5

a) RESIDENCIES IN AREAS FOR OUTDOOR POOR, C.B.O. & App.

	Outdoor Poor				C.B.O.		App.
	M	F	B	G	M	F	M
1 Grassmarket Area	17	56	-	-	1	1	-
2 Cowgate "	26	86	4	1	5	1	1
3 High Street "	59	215	3	2	-	3	5
4 Canongate "	11	69	2	-	2	4	-
5 Lawnmarket "	16	26	1	1	2	-	1
6 St. Cuthberts "	6	30	-	3	5	2	2
7 Jamaica St. "	1	55	-	-	1	4	-
8 Rose St. "	1	37	1	-	-	-	-
9 Bristo St. "	1	10	4	-	1	2	1
10 George Sq. "	-	5	1	-	1	2	4
11 Greenside "	3	26	1	-	1	4	1
12 High Sch. Yds "	10	19	2	1	1	1	-
13 St. Leonards "	-	59	-	-	13	4	6
14 Stockbridge "	-	12	-	-	-	1	-
15 Abbeyhill "	-	4	-	-	-	2	-
16 Leith "	3	16	-	-	-	1	1
17 Areas within 6 miles of City (see over)	-	2	-	-	20	8	-
18 Areas within 90 miles of City (see over) (apart from STORNOWAY)	-	-	-	-	95	108	8
19 "VARIOUS" addresses	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
20 "IN COUNTRY"	4	20	1	2	3	4	-
Total	158	749	20	10	210	152	30

STATE OF RESIDENCE OF OUTDOOR POOR

	Male	Female	Boys	Girls
CLEANLY	96	454	9	3
TOLERABLY CLEANLY	28	157	3	2
FILTHY	20	60	2	2
NOT GIVEN	14	78	6	3
Total	158	749	20	10

TABLE 5

b) NAMES OF AREAS GIVEN ON TABLE 5a
UNDER NUMBERS 17 and 18.

17) Areas within 6 miles of City:

BOROUGHMUIR	MUSSELBURGH
LIBERTON	SLATEFORD
GILMERTON	CURRIE
DUDDINGSTON	JUNIPER GREEN
PORTOBELLO	

18)

Areas within 90 miles of City:

PENTLAND	TODHILLS	CARSTAIRS
PATHEAD	MAULSFORD	BONNYRIGG
NEWTON	MARKINCH/STAR	CUMBERNAULD
LASSWADE	ELSRICKLE	DEWARTON
LOANHEAD	HAWTHORDEN	KINGSKNOWE
TRANENT	WINCHBURGH	CARLOPS
ROSLIN	EDMONSTON	NEWLANDRIGG
PENICUIK	STENHOUSE	THORNIEBANK
EAST/WEST LINTON	NEWTON ABERCORN	LINLITHGOW
PRESTONKIRK	HOWGATE	CLEISH
TARBET	NEWBRIDGE	GOREBRIDGE
POLTONHALL	TILLCOULTRY	BONNINGTON
LONESTONE	EAST SALTOUN	MORDUNGATE
SKELTYMUIR	MONTROSE	WOODEND
REDDING	&	GIFFORD
AUCHTERMUCHTY	(STORNOWAY)	BRAXBURN

TABLE 6

PLACE OF BIRTH IN COUNTIES FOR SCOTLAND

	INDOOR POOR				OUTDOOR POOR				C.B.O. INSANE			
	M	F	B	G	M	F	B	G	B	G	M	F
1 Aberdeen	2	7	-	-	2	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
2 Argyll	1	4	-	-	2	5	-	-	-	-	-	-
3 Ayr	2	1	-	-	3	8	-	-	-	1	-	-
4 Banff	2	5	-	-	1	6	-	-	-	-	-	-
5 Berwick	4	4	-	-	4	14	-	-	-	-	-	2
6 Caithness	2	6	-	-	2	18	-	-	-	-	1	-
7 Clackmannan	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
8 Dumbarton	1	-	-	-	1	3	-	-	1	-	-	-
9 Dumfries	4	2	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	1	-
10 Elgin	-	-	-	-	1	5	-	-	-	-	-	-
11 Fife	4	12	1	-	6	27	-	-	-	-	-	2
12 Forfar	4	2	-	-	1	9	-	-	1	2	-	-
13 Haddington	2	9	-	-	2	15	-	-	2	-	-	1
14 Inverness	5	6	-	-	3	22	-	-	-	-	-	1
15 Kinross	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	1
16 Galloway & Kirkcudbright	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
17 Lanark	8	1	-	2	9	15	-	-	-	2	-	-
18 Linlithgow	-	5	-	-	1	13	-	-	3	-	-	-
19 Morayshire	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
20 Nairn	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
21 Orkney/Shetl.	-	3	-	-	-	15	-	-	-	-	-	-
22 Peebles	2	3	-	-	1	11	-	-	-	-	-	-
23 Perth	7	18	-	-	11	39	-	1	-	-	2	1
24 Renfrew	-	8	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
25 Ross/Cromarty	4	5	-	-	1	12	-	-	-	-	-	-
26 Roxburgh	-	2	-	-	2	9	-	-	-	-	-	-
27 Selkirk	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
28 Stirling	1	4	-	-	5	3	-	-	1	-	-	-
29 Sutherland	2	4	-	-	2	19	-	-	1	-	-	-
30 Wigton	-	1	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
SCOTLAND	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
HIGHLANDS	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	57	115	1	2	64	293	-	1	9	5	4	8
Edin & District	72	169	32	23	34	266	15	8	171	131	9	5
Midlothian	7	26	1	-	10	46	-	-	1	-	1	1
Ireland	9	20	-	-	40	91	4	1	2	1	2	1
England	2	9	1	2	5	30	1	-	1	3	1	-
Abroad	2	2	1	-	2	10	-	-	3	-	-	-
Not known or not given	2	7	1	1	3	13	-	-	23	12	4	2

TABLE 7

AGE OF PAUPER

YRS.	INDOOR POOR				OUTDOOR POOR				C.B.O.		App	INSANE	
	M	F	B	G	M	F	B	G	B	G		M	F
1	-	-	5	7	-	-	2	1	-	-	N O T G I V E N	-	-
2			4	1			1	1	4				
3			3	3			1	1		3			
4			3				1	-	5	2			
5			3	1			2	-	8	8			
6			3	2			2	1	9	14			
7			-	3			1	-	20	9			
8			1	2			-	-	21	15			
9			2	4			2	-	23	15			
10			2	1			2		36	22			
11			6	1			2	1	20	23			
12			2	1			2	3	31	30			
13			-	1			1	-	29	6			
14			2	1			-	1	2	3			
15			1	-			1	1	2	1			
16	3	4			-	-					G I V E N		
17	3	1			-	2						1	-
18	4	2			-	-						-	-
19	1	3			-	-						1	-
20	1	1			1	3						-	-
21	1	3			-	6						-	-
22	-	2			2	3						2	-
23	3	4			-	-						-	-
24	1	4			-	3						-	-
25	-	2			-	2						-	-
26	1	4			-	11						-	-
27	2	2			-	3						-	-
28	2	8			-	14						1	1
29	4	4			-	3						-	-
30	2	8			1	9						-	-
31	-	5			1	4						-	1
32	3	6			1	9						1	-
33	-	3			-	11						1	-
34	2	3			-	9						-	-
35	1	4			-	13						-	1
36	2	6			1	15						-	1
37	1	7			-	12						1	-
38	4	2			2	13						1	1
39	-	3			-	16						1	3
40	1	2			-	22						-	1
41	-	3			-	12						1	-
42	3	4			-	10						1	-
43	2	3			1	14						-	-
44	3	9			1	12						-	-
45	1	2			1	11						-	1
46	3	6			2	10						2	-
47	2	3			3	7						1	1
48	1	3			1	12						1	1
49	3	5			3	11						-	-
50	2	4			-	8						-	1

TABLE 7

YRS	INDOOR POOR				OUTDOOR POOR				C.B.O.		App	INSANE	
	M	F	B	G	M	F	B	G	B	G		M	F
51	1	8			2	12						-	-
52	2	1			7	12						2	1
53	3	3			1	18						1	-
54	5	7			7	4						-	-
55	2	12			3	6						1	1
56	-	8			5	8						-	1
57	5	8			2	12						-	-
58	4	10			1	11						-	-
59	1	6			4	12						-	1
60	3	11			11	38						-	-
61	3	6			5	20						-	-
62	4	9			3	21						-	-
63	4	6			5	13						-	-
64	2	4			2	25						-	-
65	3	12			7	18						-	-
66	6	5			1	12						-	-
67	6	13			5	25						-	-
68	5	16			4	20						-	-
69	3	5			2	19						-	-
70	4	6			12	28						-	-
71	2	7			5	22						-	-
72	7	14			4	12						-	-
73	3	2			4	14						-	-
74	2	5			7	13						-	-
75	-	7			4	10						-	-
76-	6	12			4	26						-	-
79-													
80-	2	8			12	21						-	-
85-													
86-	1	1			1	4						-	-
89-													
90+	-	1			-	3						-	-
Not given	-	-			-	-			2	30		-	1

TABLE 8

MARITAL STATUS

a)

	INDOOR POOR				OUTDOOR POOR				CBO		App	INSANE	
	M	F	B	G	M	F	B	G	B	G		M	F
SINGLE	69	145	-	-	16	139	-	-	-	-	30	13	11
MARRIED	36	26	-	-	94	55	-	-	-	-	-	5	3
WIDOW	46	177	-	-	44	546	-	-	-	-	-	1	2
CHILD	-	-	37	28	-	-	20	10	210	152	-	-	-
NOT GIVEN	-	-	-	-	4	9	-	-	-	-	-	2	1
Total	151	348	37	28	158	749	20	10	210	152	30	21	17

b)

PARENTS NAMES & DETAILS OF CHILDREN BOARDED OUT

	Boys	Girls
BOTH NAMES GIVEN	141	116
FATHER'S NAME ONLY. ..	12	1
MOTHER'S " "	4	1
PARENT BANISHED	1	1
PARENT PRISON	1	-
FOUNDLING	47	32
FATHER DEAD	4	1

c)

BROTHERS & SISTERS GETTING RELIEF FOR CHILDREN BOARDED OUT

	Boys	Girls
PAUPERS with 1 BROTHER on RELIEF:	33	32
" " 2 BROTHERS on RELIEF:	14	5
" " 3 " " " " " " " "	4	1
(89 children)	51	38
PAUPERS with 1 SISTER on RELIEF:	35	26
" " 2 SISTERS on RELIEF:	2	6
" " 3 " " " " " " " "	2	-
(71 children)	39	32

TABLE 9

a) DETAILS OF DECLARED DEPENDENT CHILDREN
FOR INDOOR & OUTDOOR ADULTS.

Number of paupers with:	INDOOR		OUTDOOR	
	M	F	M	F
1 child declared..	3	15	8	90
2 children "	2	4	14	85
3 " "	3	3	4	55
4 " "	1	-	-	27
5 " "	-	1	-	5
6 " "	-	1	-	1
No children " ..	140	324	123	486
TOTAL NUMBERS OF PAUPERS HAVING DEPENDENTS ..	9	24	26	263+
Total number of children for these paupers ..	20	43	83	564

* + Number of paupers
whose total number of dependent children
is not stated:

2 INDOOR MALES HAVE x NUMBER OF CHILDREN
9 OUTDOOR " " x

Total number of:

INDOOR PAUPERS dependent children = 63
OUTDOOR " " = 647

FURTHER DETAILS of these 710 children:

	INDOOR		OUTDOOR	
ILLEGITIMATE ..	17		53	
MENTALLY ILL ..	-		7	
DISABLED ..	-		6	
Total No. of boys	21		330	
" " girls	30		304	
Total No. aged 0 - 5	15		175	
6 - 9	11		219	
10 - 12	2		175	
13 - 15	2		52	
16 - 21	-		22	
				+

(DATA NOT GIVEN FOR OTHER CHILDREN)

* FROM DATA GIVEN ONLY

TABLE 9

b) DATA GIVEN FOR SCHOOL ATTENDANCE & RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION FOR
DEPENDENT CHILDREN OF INDOOR AND OUTDOOR.

	INDOOR	OUTDOOR
No. of paupers whose children attend school & are given religious instruction.. .. .	6	180
No. of paupers whose children attend school only	-	15
No. of paupers where payment of school fees is specifically mentioned	11	76
No. of paupers sending children to the following school:		
INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL	-	5
TOBACCO SCHOOL	-	8
DAY SCHOOL NAMED	5	33
CHURCH SCHOOL	-	51
HERIOTS SCHOOL	-	60
ORIGINAL RAGGED SCHOOL	-	1

TABLE 9

c) DATA GIVEN FOR 325 CHILDREN BOARDED OUT WHO ATTEND SCHOOL.

No. of children attending local school		Boys	Girls
" "	church "	181	123
" "	" "	5	4
" "	Heriots "	3	3

PROGRESS IN EDUCATION GIVEN FOR CHILDREN BOARDED OUT.

1.	Good ..	..	..	21	9
2.	Diligent ..	..	..	4	-
3.	Fair ..	..	..	115	90
4.	Careless ..	..	..	2	-
5.	Indifferent ..	..	..	2	2
6.	Tolerable/Slow ..	..	..	37	23
7.	Very slow/Poor ..	..	..	4	2
8.	Doubtful ..	..	..	-	4
9.	Dull ..	..	..	4	-
	Not given ..	..	..	21	22
	Total.	..	..	210	152

TABLE 10

BEHAVIOUR

Number of paupers in Indoor, Outdoor and Children Boarded Sections, classified according to the following different kinds of behaviour.

	INDOOR POOR				OUTDOOR POOR				C.B.O.	
	M	F	B	G	M	F	B	G	B	G
1. Exemplary, very good, industrious.	-	-	-	-	6	21	1	-	-	-
2. Good, correct, very decent.	129	318	30	27	17	40	8	-	185	140
3. Quiet, decent.	1	1	2	-	73	464	-	4	-	-
4. Tolerable, fair, middling.	15	14	1	-	31	124	-	2	4	-
5. Questionable, doubtful, suspicious.	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	4	-
6. Very indifferent, indifferent.	-	-	-	-	23	95	-	1	6	2
7. Silly, impudent.	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	3	-
8. Bad, troublesome.	5	15	4	1	-	-	-	-	31	2
9. Very drunken, drunken.	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
NOT GIVEN.	1	-	-	-	6	4	9	3	7	8
	151	348	37	28	158	749	20	10	210	152

TABLE 11

GROUND'S OF RELIEF

Number of Indoor & Outdoor PAUPERS classified according to grounds of relief or causes apparently leading to house:-

	INDOOR POOR				OUTDOOR POOR			
	M	F	B	G	M	F	B	G
1 Disputed claim	2	3	1	1	-	-	-	-
2 Destitution: poverty & illness	40	100	6	-	4	13	-	-
3 Old age/decay/poverty	3	6	-	-	61	210	-	-
4 Drink + 1 domestic quarrel	9	12	-	-	-	-	-	-
5 Desertion by parent/husband etc.	-	3	7	6	-	23	5	2
6 Sent in by Inspector	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-
7 Prison of parent/husband etc.	-	3	2	7	-	9	4	-
8 Children/or is a child with parent	-	4	12	10	5	163	5	2
9 Mental illness of dependent/self	26	54	2	3	8	14	1	-
10 Prostitution	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-
11 Weak, weakly, feeble, etc.	12	14	2	-	39	208	-	2
12 Disabled (including blind & mute)	14	19	-	-	12	20	-	1
13 Effects of fever, etc.	2	30	3	-	8	27	-	1
14 Rheumatism	2	14	-	-	1	7	-	-
15 Consumption	-	4	-	-	-	2	-	-
16 Chest & heart illness	9	18	-	-	8	11	-	-
17 Affliction of limbs (e.g. ulcers)	14	26	-	-	1	8	-	-
18 Poor eyesight	8	6	-	-	4	14	-	-
19 Palsy	6	12	-	-	6	5	-	-
20 Cancer	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
21 Scalded head, etc.	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
22 Scrofula, itch, etc.	1	1	1	-	1	1	-	-
23 Disease spine, kidney, bladder, etc.	2	3	-	-	-	2	-	-
24 Other physical illnesses & defined reasons e.g. foundling.	1	6	-	-	-	-	2	-
	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	2
TOTAL	151	348	37	28	158	749	20	10

TABLE 12

RELIGION

Number of Indoor & Outdoor paupers classified according to religion from data given.

a)

	INDOOR POOR				OUTDOOR POOR			
	M	F	B	G	M	F	B	G
1 Roman Catholic	10	17	3	1	33	81	3	1
2 Episcopalian: C/Eng.	2	6	-	-	5	14	-	-
3 Protestant	10	18	1	-	-	1	-	-
4 Established church	63	148	-	2	12	89	-	-
5 United Presbyterian	19	42	-	1	8	81	-	-
6 Free or Independent	10	33	-	-	14	80	1	2
7 Methodist	1	2	-	-	2	4	-	-
8 Gaelic church	-	-	-	-	7	48	-	-
9 Meeting, prayer mission	-	-	-	-	7	39	-	-
10 Baptist	-	1	-	-	1	7	-	-
11 Name of minister given or name of church only	-	-	-	-	38	177	6	1
12 Cannot attend: various sects & high church	1	1	-	-	15	52	-	-
13 Religion Not Known	35	80	33	24	9	65	5	6
14 Attends St. Cuthberts	-	-	-	-	2	3	-	-
15 Attends Canongate	-	-	-	-	2	5	5	-
Total	151	348	37	28	155	746	15	10
Data not given:					3	3	5	-

b)

Number of Indoor & Outdoor paupers who are declared members or hearers according to data on list.

	INDOOR POOR				OUTDOOR POOR			
	M	F	B	G	M	F	B	G
1. Declared Members	12	66	3	-	30	211	2	-
2. Declared Hearers	-	-	-	-	60	277	5	2
3. Declared NOT a member	104	200	3	4	-	1	-	-
4. Not Known	35	81	31	24	8	49	7	5
Not Given	-	1	-	-	60	211	6	3
Total	151	348	37	28	158	749	20	10

TABLE 13
OCCUPATION

a)

Number of adult paupers classified according to occupation.

	INDOOR		OUTDOOR		App	INSANE	
	M	F	M	F		M	F
1 Hawker, or sells goods, or shopkeeper.	-	-	22	74	-	3	-
2 Keeps lodgers; (family or self)	-	-	3	15	-	-	1
3 Odd jobs (self or family)	4	-	31	35	-	-	-
4 Disabled - cannot work	2	5	15	52	-	-	-
5 Has no occupation given	73	141	39	272	3	5	7
6 Beggar/vagrant	-	-	2	-	-	1	1
7 Dog breaker, bucket searcher, etc.	-	-	2	2	-	-	-
8 Baker or barber	1	-	1	-	1	-	-
9 Printing trade	1	-	2	2	3	-	-
10 Stabler, ostler, saddler, etc.	-	-	2	-	2	-	-
11 Jeweller, repairs clocks, etc.	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
12 Smith of any kind	2	-	2	-	5	-	-
13 Shoemaker trade	6	-	11	12	6	2	-
14 Upholsterer: brush worker: gilder, etc.	2	-	1	2	-	2	-
15 Spinner, basket worker etc.	-	-	2	3	-	-	-
16 Turner, sawyer, mason, plumber, joiner, etc.	7	-	5	-	4	1	-
17 Musician, beadle, superintends, piano maker	-	1	1	1	-	2	-
18 Gardener, labourer	-	-	6	4	-	1	-
19 Clothing trade (tailor/ess, dressmaker,)etc.	4	4	6	13	6	3	3
20 Knits, sews, makes mats, etc.	1	92	1	123	-	-	-
21 Looks after a child	1	4	-	5	-	-	-
22 Cleans, scrubs, sweeper, etc.	3	3	-	12	-	-	-
23 Washing, mangle etc.,	-	27	2	112	-	-	-
24 Cooks, kitchen help, domestic etc.	1	12	-	5	-	-	-
25 Nurse or helps in sick wards	-	53	-	5	-	1	5
26 Teases hair/oakum	26	5	-	-	-	-	-
27 Office work, doorkeeper, stores: bellringer, lamplighter, etc. in house.	16	1	-	-	-	-	-
28 Casual work of any other kind.	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	151	348	158	749	30	21	17

TABLE 13 b) RELIEF INCOME EARNINGS

Number of PAUPERS for each amount of relief, showing relation between earning, total income and relief.

OUTDOOR MALE					FEMALE				OUTDOOR MALE					FEMALE			
Amount of relief	Total number with this amount	Total income	Total with this income	Amount earned	Total with this amount relief	Total income	Number with this income	Amount earned	Amount of relief	Numbers with this relief	Total income	Number with this income	Amount earned	Numbers with amount of relief	Total income	Number with this income	Amount earned
9d					2	9d	2	0d	1/6	5/-	2	3/6		5/-	2	3/6	
10d					2	10d	2	0d						5/6	2	4/-	
1/-	27	1/-	7	0d	142	1/-	45	0d		6/-	1	4/6		6/-	1	4/6	
		1/6	1	6d		1/3	1	3d						6/6	2	5/-	
		2/-	3	1/-		1/6	10	6d		10/6	1	9/-		8/-	1	6/6	
						1/8	1	8d	1/8					5	1/8	3	0d
						1/9	1	9d						3/8	1	2/-	
						2/-	35	1/-						4/2	1	2/6	
						2/2	1	1/2	1/9					4	1/9	2	0d
						2/3	1	1/3						2/7	1	10d	
		2/6	4	1/6		2/6	18	1/6						3/3	1	1/6	
		3/-	6	2/-		3/-	13	2/-	2/-	47	2/-	17	0d	200	2/-	109	0d
		3/6	4	2/6		3/6	4	2/6		2/6	1	6d		2/6	9	6d	
						4/-	3	3/-						2/8	1	8d	
		6/-	1	5/-		5/-	1	4/-		2/9	2	9d		2/9	3	9d	
		7/-	1	6/-		5/6	1	4/6		3/-	5	1/-		3/-	19	1/-	
1/3					7	1/3	1	0						3/3	1	1/3	
						1/7	1	4		3/6	5	1/6		3/6	19	1/6	
						2/3	1	1/-		4/-	5	2/-		4/-	22	2/-	
						2/7	1	1/4						4/4	1	2/4	
						2/9	2	1/6		4/6	1	2/6		4/6	5	2/6	
						4/3	1	3/-		5/-	4	3/-		5/-	3	3/-	
1/6	35	1/6	11	0d	260	1/6	17	0d						5/6	1	3/6	
						1/9	2	3d						6/-	3	4/-	
						1/11	2	5d		7/-	2	5/-		6/6	1	4/6	
						2/-	39	6d		7/6	1	5/6		7/-	1	5/-	
						2/1	1	7d		8/-	2	6/-		8/-	1	6/-	
						2/2	4	8d		11/6	1	9/6		16/-	1	14/-	
		2/3	2	9d		2/3	11	9d	2/3				2	2/3	1	0d	
						2/4	2	10d						4/9	1	2/6	
		2/6	5	1/-		2/6	28	1/-	2/4				1	2/4	1	0d	
						2/9	3	1/3	2/6	20	2/6	5	0d	48	2/6	19	0d
		3/-	2	1/6		3/-	18	1/6						3/-	3	6d	
		3/6	4	2/-		3/9	13	2/3						3/3	1	9d	
		4/-	3	2/6		4/-	8	2/6		3/6	3	1/-		3/6	10	1/-	
		4/6	4	3/-		4/6	4	3d		4/-	2	1/6		4/-	4	1/6	
RELIEF FOR OUTDOOR ADULTS PER WEEK: 9d to 2/6d on this page.																	

RELIEF FOR OUTDOOR ADULTS PER WEEK:
9d to 2/6d on this page.

MALES					FEMALES				MALES					FEMALES			
Amount of relief	Total getting amount of relief	Total income	Total getting this income	Amount being earned	Total getting amount/relief	Total income	Total getting this income	Amount being earned	Amount of relief	Total getting amount	Total income	Total with this income	Amount earned	Total with amount of relief	Total income	Total with this income	Amount earned
2/6	4/6 4/10 5/- 5/6 6/6 8/6 13/6	2 1 2 2 1 1 1	3/- 2/4 2/6 3/- 4/- 6/- 11/-		4/6	3	2/-	5/6	5/6					1	5/6 8/-	0 1	0d 2/6
3/-	16	3/-	7	0d	36	3/-	13	0d	6/-					1	6/- 9/-	0 1	0d 3/-
						3/6 3/8 3/9 4/- 4/6 5/- 5/6 6/- 6/6 7/6	1 1 1 5 3 4 3 2 2 1	6d 8d 9d 1/- 1/6 2/- 2/6 3/- 3/6 4/6									
3/6	8	3/6	8	0d	8	3/6 3/9 3/10 5/6 6/- 7/3	2 1 1 2 1 1	0d 3d 4d 2/- 3/- 3/9									
4/-	3	4/-	3	0d	18	4/- 5/- 5/6 6/- 7/- 8/- 9/- 10/- 14/-	7 2 2 2 1 1 1 1 1	0d 1/- 1/6 2/- 3/- 4/- 5/- 6/- 10/-									
4/6	1	4/6	1	0d	4	4/6 9/6	3 1	0d 5/-									
5/-	1	5/6	1	6d	7	5/- 6/6 7/- 11/-	2 2 2 1	0d 1/6 2/- 6/-									

COLUMNS SHOW:-

1. AMOUNT OF RELIEF PER WEEK.
2. NUMBER OF O.D. ADULTS GETTING THIS AMOUNT.
3. TOTAL INCOME PER WEEK.
4. NUMBER OF O.D. ADULTS GETTING EACH TOTAL INCOME.
5. THE AMOUNT BEING EARNED WITHIN EACH INCOME AND RELIEF RANGE, PER WEEK.

There are 2 complete sets of data on each page, ranging from 9d to 6/- Relief per week.

RELIEF FOR OUTDOOR ADULTS PER WEEK:
2/6d to 6/- on this page.

TABLE 13

c) RATE OF BOARD

Number of children boarded out and apprentices classified according to amount of Rate per Board paid per half quarter.

AMOUNT	CHILDREN BOARDED OUT		APPRENTICES
	BOYS	GIRLS	
3/3 per 1/2 quarter	-	-	1
4/6 " " "	-	-	2
6/3 " " "	-	1	-
6/6 " " "	1	3	10
7/6 " " "	2	1	-
8/- " " "	1	-	-
9/- " " "	5	-	-
9/6 " " "	-	-	1
9/9 " " "	2	7	5
10/6 " " "	-	1	-
12/6 " " "	193	139	-
13/- " " "	3	-	-
16/3 " " "	1	-	-
20/- " " "	1	-	-
NOT GIVEN	1	-	* 11
Total	210	152	30

* In 6 of these 11 cases, clothing is given in the rate of board column, and no cash amount.

TABLE 14 OTHER ASSISTANCE

Number of paupers in Outdoor, Indoor and Children Boarded
Out sections classified according to declared other
assistance.

HELP from:	INDOOR			POOR			OUTDOOR			POOR			C.B.O.		
	M	F	B	G	M	F	B	G	M	F	B	G	M	B	G
Society or charity	-	-	-	-	7	19	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Blood relations	13	11	22	11	11	92	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Relations by marriage	-	7	-	-	3	4	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Church	-	-	-	-	1	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Friends, neighbours	-	-	-	-	1	29	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rent/lodgings paid	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Police	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Previous employer or pension	3	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Total	16	18	22	11	24	172	4	2	24	172	4	2	1	1	-
NONE GIVEN	135	330	15	17	134	577	16	8	134	577	16	8	209	152	152
TOTAL.. ..	151	348	37	28	158	749	20	10	158	749	20	10	210	152	152

TABLE 15

STATE OF HEALTH

Number of paupers from all sections classified according to their state of health.

HEALTH	INDOOR POOR			OUTDOOR POOR			C.B.O.		App		INSANE	
	M	F	G	M	F	G	B	G	M	F	M	F
1. Healthy/good	37	107	25	22	-	-	173	120	9	-	-	-
2. Disabled physically	20	23	2	-	52	1	1	4	-	-	-	-
3. Weakly, ill, debility	19	47	4	-	254	1	10	7	-	-	-	-
4. Mentally ill	23	36	1	2	15	-	-	-	-	21	17	-
5. Delicate, frail	1	11	-	2	12	-	19	11	1	-	-	-
6. Feeble, enfeebled	40	67	3	1	9	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
7. Indifferent, variable	4	42	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
8. Very delicate, infirm	-	-	-	-	11	-	5	9	-	-	-	-
9. Very bad health, etc.	7	15	1	-	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NOT GIVEN	-	-	1	1	380	8	-	1	20	-	-	-
Total	151	348	37	28	158	749	210	152	30	21	17	17

TABLE 16 PERMANENT or TEMPORARY

Numbers of paupers indoors in poorhouse classified according to permanent or temporary.

	<u>MALES</u>	<u>FEMALES</u>	<u>CHILDREN</u>
PERMANENT	101	267	3
TEMPORARY	49	81	59
NOT GIVEN	1	-	3
	<hr/> 151	<hr/> 348	<hr/> 65

Total Number of:
 PERMANENT : 371
 TEMPORARY : 189

TABLE 17

Number of children boarded out classified according to name of nurse:

	B	G
Male name given for nurse:-	87	38
Female " " " "	123	114

NURSE NAME THE SAME AS THE CHILD: IN 21 OF THESE CASES.

Out of 30 Apprentices, 8 are boarded with master,
 20 are not " " "
 2 are unknown.

Appendix H.

Reproductions of water colours, probably by J.G. Howie, in the 1840's, of the dress worn by four inmates of the Charity workhouse, Edinburgh.

Man: Black tile hat; red spotted cravat; white shirt; mid-brown moleskin suit with horn buttons; black shoes.

Woman: White bonnet; check plaid kerchief; blue dress; white apron; black shoes.

Boy: Dark blue hat and jacket, with brass buttons; white shirt; mid-brown trousers; black shoes.

Girl: Green bonnet; white shoulder cape; pale blue smock; blue dress; black shoes.

By kind permission of the City of Edinburgh archivist.









Appendix I.

Reproductions of photographs probably taken about 1900,
of the interior of Craiglockhart poorhouse.

Plate I. Children's dayroom.

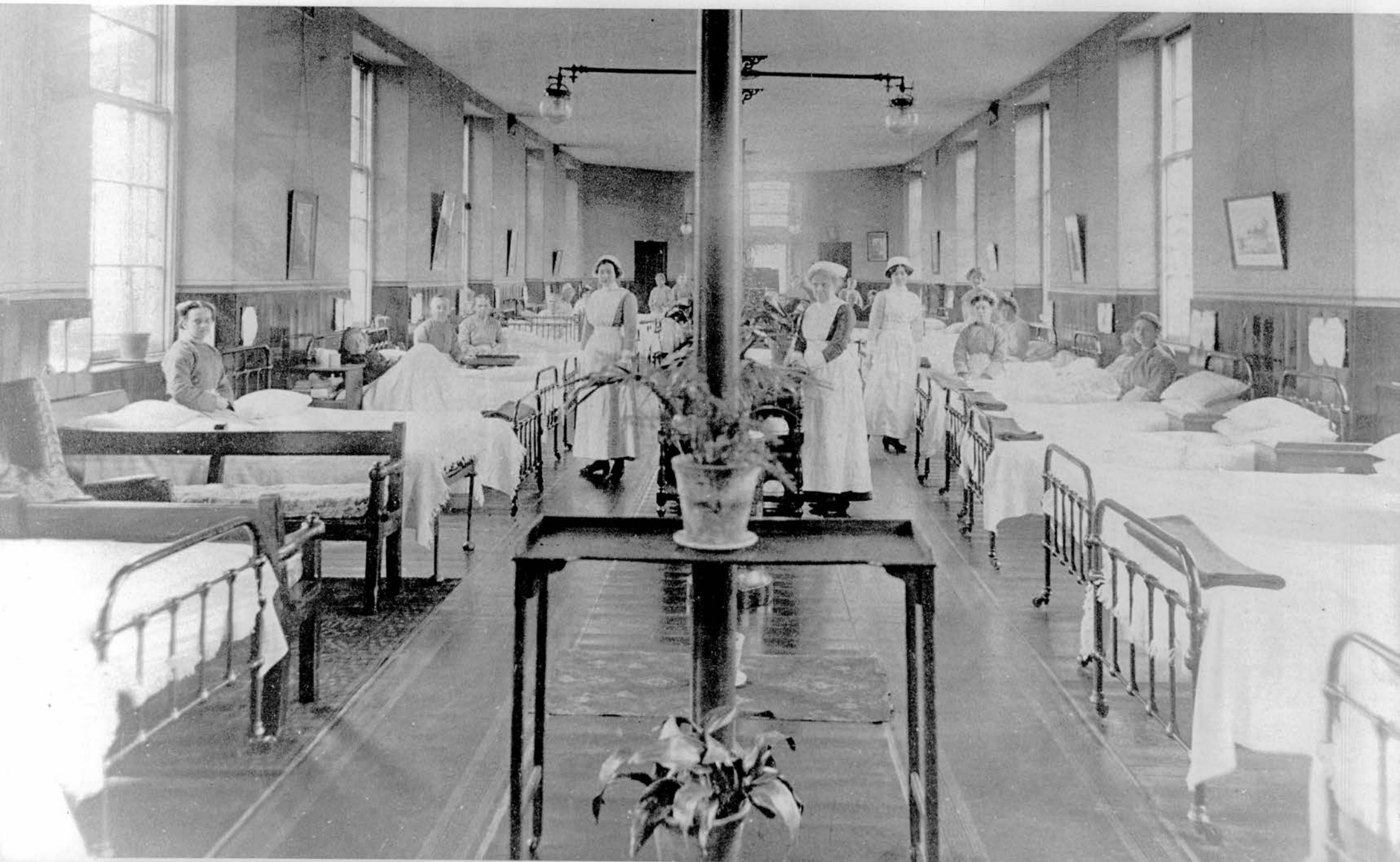
Plate II. Hospital ward.

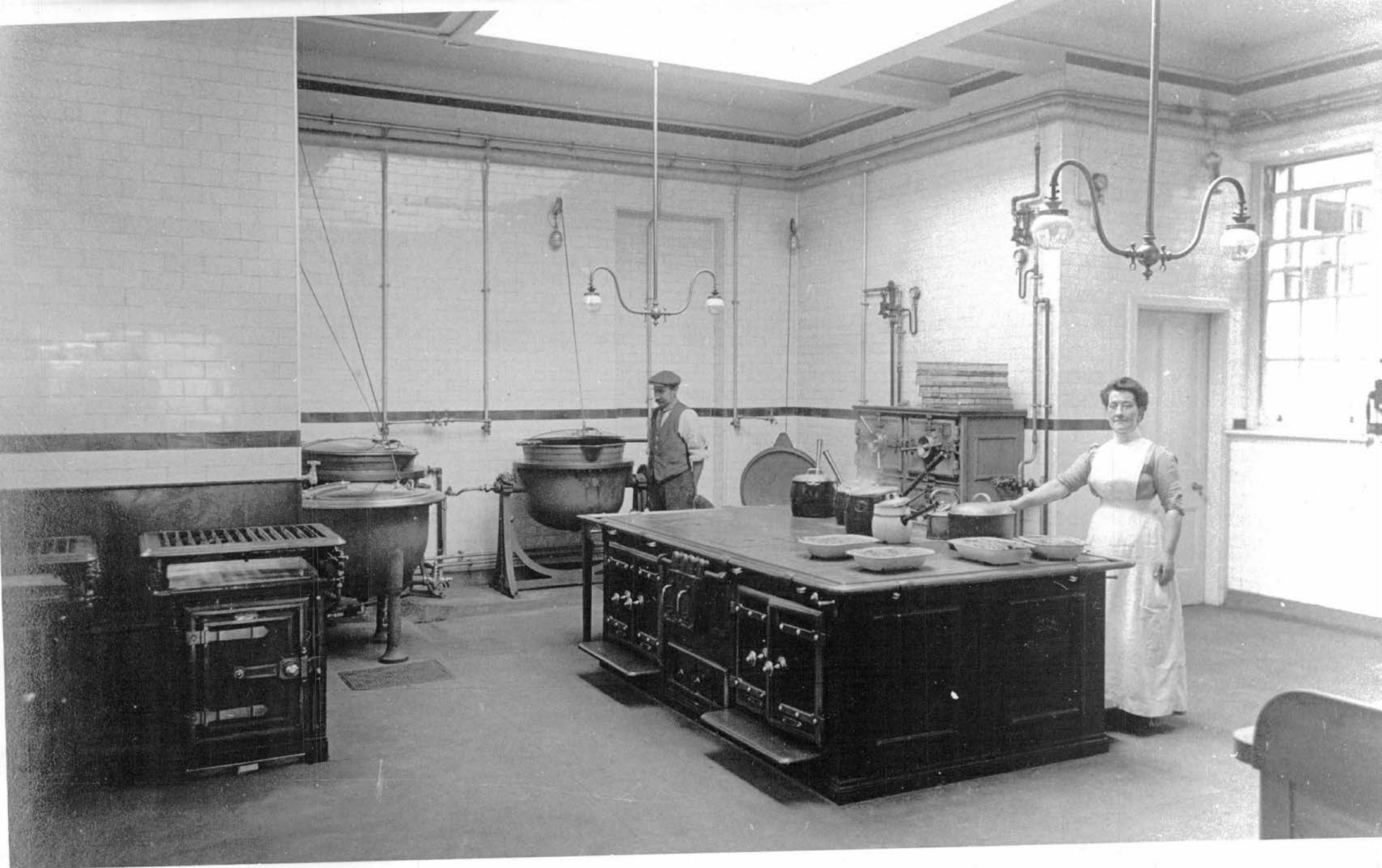
Plate III. Kitchen.

Plate IV. Laundry.

With the kind permission of a private collector.









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RULES AND REGULATIONS

FOR

THE MANAGEMENT

OF

THE POOR-HOUSE

OF

THE CITY OF EDINBURGH.

ADOPTED BY THE PAROCHIAL BOARD,

ON 28TH APRIL, AND

APPROVED BY THE BOARD OF SUPERVISION,

ON 7TH MAY 1846.

EDINBURGH:

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RULES AND REGULATIONS, &c.

I.—COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT.

1. The Management of the Poor-House, (and the treatment and discipline of the Inmates thereof,) shall be vested in a House-Governor and Matron, under the superintendence of a Committee to be named by the Parochial Board, which Committee, in transacting the business committed to them, shall exercise all the powers necessary for that purpose which belong to the Board.

2. The Committee shall hold stated Meetings; and regular Minutes of their proceedings shall be kept and entered in the Minute-Book, and reported from time to time to the meetings of the Parochial Board, who shall give such instructions to the Committee as they may think necessary.

3. The Committee shall, at the proper seasons, give directions for procuring Estimates for supplying the Poor-House with provisions and other necessaries. They shall open the estimates, and decide upon the same, making such arrangements as they think fit for securing delivery of articles in all respects conformably to the contracts. Where the Committee shall not deem it right to enter into contracts, or where the contractors may fail to implement the same, they shall give all requisite directions for procuring the supplies necessary for the House.

4. The Committee shall have power to order petty Repairs on the Poor-House or premises, and shall report to the Board such other repairs and such improvements as may occur to them to be necessary.

5. The Committee shall not be at liberty to employ any Member of the Parochial Board to furnish any article for behoof of the Poor-House, or to execute any work connected therewith.

6. The Committee shall check such Accounts as are applicable to their department, and transmit the same to the Finance Committee, with a view to their payment.

7. They shall, once a month, cause to be laid before them—

1. The Register of the Inmates, the statement of the casualties, and the record of cases of discipline, required to be kept by the House-Governor; 2. The accounts of the provisions, petty expenses, clothing, &c., required to be kept by the House-Governor and Matron; and, 3. The report of the Medical Officer respecting the health of the Inmates, referred to in the Rules as to Medical Attendance.

II.—VISITATION BY THE BOARD.

The Members of the Board are expected occasionally to visit the Poor-House,—noting the fact of their visit in a book to be kept for the purpose,—and to report their observations, if necessary, to the House-Committee; and in order that this duty may be regularly discharged, the House-Governor shall, every Saturday, send notice to one Member of the House-Committee, and to two of the other Members of the Board, in rotation, requesting them to visit the House, either separately or together, in the course of the ensuing week. These notices shall specify the Meal-hours, the hours of Morning and Evening Worship, and of the Forenoon and Afternoon Services on Sunday.

III.—HOUSE-GOVERNOR.

1. The House-Governor shall keep a correct register of the names of all persons admitted ; the date of their admission ; their removal by dismissal, death, or otherwise ; and, as far as can be ascertained, their age, place of birth, length of residence in Edinburgh, avocation, condition—married or single—cause of admission, and religious profession.

2. He shall make an Alphabetical List, at 30th September yearly, of the whole inmates, with the particulars mentioned in the former Rule, so far as applicable, to which he shall add a regular account as they occur, *1st*, Of Admissions ; *2d*, Dismissals ; *3d*, Departures ; and, *4th*, Deaths.

3. He shall present to the Committee, once every month, a statement of the casualties that have occurred during the preceding month, viz., admissions, dismissals, departures, and deaths.

4. The House-Governor shall receive no person as an inmate without a written order signed by one of the Inspectors. Along with this order, there shall be transmitted to him, the Schedule, on consideration of the statements in which, the party has been ordered to be admitted. The Schedule shall be returned to the Inspectors by the House-Governor after he has made the requisite entries in the Register of Inmates. If the Pauper shall not appear to claim admission within three days from the date of the Order, the House-Governor shall not admit him without a renewed order.

5. When Paupers are admitted to the House, before being received into the Wards, or allowed to mingle with the other inmates, the House-Governor shall take care that they are examined by himself or by the Matron, and also by the Medical Officer, and that they are properly washed and cleaned, and provided with the requisite articles of clothing.

6. The House-Governor shall receive all the Provisions and

other necessaries, and shall check every invoice, that he may be satisfied the quantities charged have been delivered; he shall also inspect the quality of the articles when delivered, to see that they are according to contract; and, if found not to be so, he shall immediately report to the Convener of the Committee.

7. He shall serve out the daily supply of Food to the Matron, according to the Diet-Tables.

8. He shall receive all Cloth, bed and body Clothes, Shoes, &c., and, when checked by him as to quantity and quality, he shall hand them to the Matron.

9. He shall keep regular Accountts, in such form as the Committee may direct, shewing, on the one hand, the provisions and other necessaries received, and, on the other, how the same have been disposed of. He shall keep a similar account of the articles enumerated in the 8th Rule.

10. He shall keep an inventory of the whole Furniture and bed-clothes, and shall add thereto such articles as may be furnished from time to time. This inventory shall be made up and produced at 30th September annually, when worn-out and useless articles shall be struck off the same.

11. At the beginning of each month a sum of money shall be placed in the hands of the House-Governor, for the purpose of defraying Petty Charges; and a regular account shall be kept by him of the expenditure thereof, to be submitted to the Committee, and examined and passed by them at the close of the month.

12. He shall daily visit every Ward, see that the House is properly aired, by the windows being opened, and that the fires and lights are extinguished by nine o'clock at night, excepting those necessary for the sick, and the lights required in the stair-cases and passages adjoining the Wards.

13. He shall take a general superintendence of the whole House, and more particularly of the Male Inmates, and see that every thing is conducted with becoming order and propriety, and

shall be always ready to render any assistance and advice required by the Matron in the exercise of her duty.

14. It shall be the duty of the House-Governor, in conjunction with the Matron, to bestow the utmost attention on the proper classification of the inmates, and, in doing so, to carry into effect the following general principles. (1.) A distinct portion of the House shall be set apart for the accommodation of Males, and another for Females, each having a separate staircase. But as this arrangement cannot be completely carried out by reason of the females exceeding the males in number, such Wards, in the division for males, as may be necessarily allotted to females, shall all be upon one floor. (2.) Persons married at the time of admission, shall, where both husband and wife are inmates, be accommodated, as far as practicable, in one of the wards belonging to the men's division, to be allotted for their use. (3.) Inmates who are ill-behaved, shall, as much as possible, be separated from those who are quiet and orderly. (4.) Arrangements have been made for maintaining fatuous paupers in a separate department of the establishment, and, therefore, none such shall be accommodated in the House.

15. The House-Governor shall be present at the meals of the inmates, and shall ask a blessing before any one is permitted to partake, and at the conclusion shall return thanks before any of the inmates rise from table. He may occasionally devolve upon one or other of the inmates the duty of asking a blessing and returning thanks; and, when necessarily absent, he shall make arrangements to secure the discharge of the same with becoming propriety.

16. He shall strictly administer the laws relating to the inmates, keeping a record of all cases of discipline as they occur, which shall be submitted to the Committee at their meetings.

17. In the event of the House-Governor committing any inmate to close confinement, he shall, at the moment of doing so, satisfy himself as to the state of the party, and, if the circum-

stances of the case shall require it, he shall forthwith send for Medical assistance. In all cases of such confinement, the House-Governor shall make arrangements whereby the person confined shall either be constantly watched, or visited at longer or shorter intervals, as the circumstances may require; and before retiring to rest for the night, and immediately after rising in the morning, he shall personally visit all inmates in confinement. No Pauper, however, shall be detained in close confinement for more than 24 hours, or for such further space of time as may be necessary in order to have such Pauper carried before a Magistrate, to be dealt with according to law.

18. When giving leave to the inmates to go out on the liberty-days, or at other times, he shall furnish each with a ticket, having marked upon it the number of the Ward to which such inmate belongs; and he shall keep an account of the tickets given out, in order to check the numbers at the several meals. In no case but of an urgent kind shall he give liberty to males and females to go out at the same time.

19. The House-Governor shall have under his charge a small collection of Moral and Religious Publications for the use of the inmates, and shall, from time to time, submit a list of such additions as he may deem proper, to the House-Committee, without whose approval, regularly entered on the Minutes, no publication shall be admitted into the collection. Whenever the House-Governor shall observe any infidel or immoral publication in the hands of an inmate, he shall take possession of the same, and report the fact to the House-Committee.

20. He shall not leave the premises without informing the Matron where he may be found; he shall be as seldom as possible absent from the House; and never one whole night, without special leave from the Convener of the Committee.

21. The House-Governor shall, as far as practicable, discharge the duties incumbent on the Matron in the event of her temporary absence or indisposition.

22. He shall, from time to time, submit to the Committee, in writing, such suggestions as may occur to him for promoting the moral welfare and comfort of the inmates, and the economy of the House, and also in regard to repairs of the buildings.

23. In addition to the above, the House-Governor shall discharge such other duties as may be necessary to give effect to the Rules in preceding and subsequent Sections, although such other duties are not specified in this place.

IV.—MATRON.

1. The Matron shall daily receive from the House-Governor the necessary Provisions, according to the Diet-Tables, and shall furnish to him any Memoranda that may be necessary to enable him to keep the requisite accounts relative thereto.

2. She shall see that the Food is properly cooked and served up to the inmates in the Hall, according to the regulated quantities for each individual, or sent to the several Wards by the respective Nurses, for those detained by sickness or infirmity, or by attendance on the sick.

3. She shall observe all practicable Economy, both in the preparation of the food, and in the distribution thereof, so that no waste or extravagance shall occur.

4. The Matron shall appoint proper persons from among the inmates, to wash the Linen and other articles. She shall also appoint Nurses for the several Wards, who shall be under her entire control; and she shall see to the due performance of all duties imposed upon them, either by herself, or by the Medical Officer in reference to the sick. In the prescription of either wine or spirits by the Medical Officer, she shall, as far as possible, administer the same with her own hand; and she shall see that every proper assistance is rendered to the sick and infirm.

5. She shall cause the stairs and entries to be washed and

swept alternately every lawful day,—the sand, if used, being swept clean off before it is quite dry,—the rooms and wards to be swept, and the beds made and swept below, once every day, and the rest of the house to be washed twice a-week, or oftener if necessary. She shall cause the tables and seats in the dining-hall to be properly cleaned after each meal.

6. She shall see that the linen and stockings of the inmates are changed at least once a-week, and the bed-linen once a-month; that all the inmates are kept in a clean and neat condition, supplying them from time to time with the proper garments; and that care and economy are strictly observed in this department of her duty.

7. The Matron shall see that all inmates who are able, are every lawful day employed in such suitable work as they are capable of performing, or of being taught.

8. She shall have the sole control over the female inmates of the House; and shall, in cases of difficulty, apply for the assistance and advice of the House-Governor.

9. She shall be at liberty to expend, weekly, such small sum of money as may from time to time be fixed by the House-Committee, in providing snuff and tobacco, to be given by the House-Governor and herself, in small quantities, to such well-behaved inmates as they shall judge fit.

10. The Matron shall not leave the premises, without informing the House-Governor where she may be found; she shall be as seldom as possible absent from the House; and never one whole night, without special leave from the Convener of the Committee.

11. She shall, as far as practicable, discharge the duties incumbent on the House-Governor, in the event of his temporary absence or indisposition.

12. In addition to the above, the Matron shall discharge such other duties as may be necessary to give effect to the Rules in preceding and subsequent sections, although such other duties are not specified in this place.

V.—RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION OF THE INMATES.

1. The Religious Instruction of the inmates shall be committed to a Chaplain, who shall be a distinct officer from the House-Governor.

2. Every morning at Eight, and every evening at Seven o'clock, the Chaplain shall conduct Public Worship in the Chapel, by praise, reading a portion of Scripture, and prayer.

3. Every Sunday, at Eleven o'clock in the morning, and at Two o'clock in the afternoon, the Chaplain shall lecture, or preach from a text of Scripture, conjoining Praise and Prayer.

4. It shall be the duty of all the inmates, not incapacitated by their state of health, or who have not been specially exempted by the House-Governor, to attend the stated diets of worship in the Chapel.

5. On other days than Sunday and Saturday, the Chaplain shall spend at least two hours in visiting and instructing the inmates in the truths of religion, and in administering consolation to the sick and dying; and he shall take charge generally of the spiritual concerns of the inmates, so arranging his visits, that a due proportion of his time shall be given to the inmates of the respective Wards.

6. The Chaplain shall, once a-quarter, report generally his proceedings to the Committee, stating the name of any person who may have officiated for him on occasion of his unavoidable absence, should such have occurred.

7. The House-Governor and Matron shall attend the Public Worship morning and evening, and one of them shall always be present at the forenoon and afternoon service on Sunday.

8. When any inmate shall signify to the House-Governor a request "for the admission of any known Minister of the religious persuasion of such inmate, for the purpose of affording religious assistance to such inmate," it shall be the duty of the House-Governor to inform such Minister of the request so made, and

to give orders for his admission, for the purpose foresaid, at all hours between breakfast and supper times. If admission shall be desired at other times, the House-Governor shall judge, whether, under all the circumstances, such request should be granted, and shall act accordingly.

9. When a known Minister of any religious persuasion shall express to the House-Governor his desire to visit any members of his Congregation, who may be inmates of the Poor-House, he shall give orders for the admission of such Minister, and make arrangements for the assembling of such inmates along with their Minister, in some convenient apartment, where the service may be conducted with due decorum, at such times as may be arranged between the House-Governor and Minister.

10. The House-Governor shall be at liberty to permit inmates, who are in full communion with any religious Congregation, to attend their ordinary place of worship on the forenoon or afternoon of each Sunday; and on the whole of the Sacramental days of such Congregation. Provided always, that this privilege shall be withdrawn where the House-Governor is satisfied that the same is abused.

11. Copies of so much of the foregoing Rules as requires to be known by the inmates for the regulation of their conduct, shall be hung up in the respective Wards, and also in the Chapel.

VI.—MEDICAL ATTENDANCE.

1. A properly qualified Medical Man shall be appointed, who shall give regular attendance at the Poor-House, and superintend the dispensing of medicine to the sick inmates.

2. The Medical Officer shall visit the sick every day at such hour as may be fixed by the Board, and oftener when necessary. He shall insert in a book a memorandum of his visit, with a continuous account of the treatment of the more serious cases, and

of all wine, spirits, or extra diet, ordered by him, together with the names of the persons for whom he has prescribed the same.

3. He shall furnish to the Committee a monthly report of the state of health of the inmates.

4. The duties of the Medical Officer before enumerated shall be exclusive of those prescribed under other heads of these Rules.

VII.—GATE-KEEPER.

1. A Gate-Keeper shall be appointed by the Board, who shall reside in the Lodge at the gate.

2. He shall not allow any inmate to pass outside the gate without a ticket, to be left with him on the return of such inmate.

3. The tickets received by the Gate-Keeper from persons returning shall be delivered to the House-Governor ;—those for regulating dinner at one o'clock, and those for supper at five. The names of individuals returning after five o'clock shall be reported, that they may be precluded from partaking of the supper.

4. When any inmate returns under the influence of intoxicating liquor, the Gate-Keeper shall accompany such to the House, and shall report the case to the House-Governor or Matron.

5. The Gate-Keeper shall allow no inmate to give or receive any article through the gate, or to hold communication with any person on the outside, or to carry out any article of food, clothing, soap, &c., belonging to the House. All transgressors of this rule shall be forthwith brought by him before the House-Governor, or, in his absence, before the Matron.

6. He shall require all Inmates or visitors, on entering the gate, to exhibit whatever articles they may be bringing in ; and if they refuse, on being called on, so to do, or if the Gate-Keeper be suspicious of concealment, he is hereby empowered to search such inmates or visitors. Thereafter, if his suspicions have

been confirmed, he shall accompany such inmates or visitors to the House, and make report to the House-Governor or Matron.

7. The Gate-Keeper shall obey any instructions given to him by the House-Governor or Matron, for carrying out the regulations of the Poor-House.

8. In addition to the duties above detailed, the Gate-Keeper shall attend to those prescribed to him, under the rules intituled "Claims of Paupers," and "Medical Relief of Out-Door Poor."

VIII.—INMATES.

1. The inmates of the House, whether male or female, shall behave with all respect to the House-Governor and Matron, take directions from them as to their work, be obedient to all their orders, and subject to their authority; and, in case of disrespect, disobedience, or insolent language, to either of them, transgressors shall be punished according to the 8th rule.

2. All the inmates, according to their respective abilities, shall be employed in such useful work or labour as shall be provided for them; and the duty of engaging in such labour, cheerfully and without grudging, shall be inculcated on the minds of the inmates,—idleness being as great an enemy to their own comfort and happiness, as it is disadvantageous to the general welfare of the House.

3. All inmates who are able shall, as far as there is room, take their meals in the public hall, and those absenting themselves shall be deprived of the same.

4. No inmate shall have permission to leave the premises except once a-week, viz., the males on Tuesday, from ten to four o'clock, and the females on Friday, during the same hours. All who do not conform to the rules regarding Divine Worship, or who are habitually guilty of cursing, or swearing, or of annoying the public by begging or otherwise, shall on no account be permitted to go without the gate.

5. No inmate shall be permitted to go out without receiving a ticket, or to leave the House for more than a day without permission from the House-Governor.

6. All inmates on entering the gate shall exhibit to the Gate-Keeper any articles which they may be bringing in.

7. Any inmates staying out after 4 o'clock shall be confined within the premises for a period not exceeding one month thereafter; and any absents themselves from the House all night shall be dealt with as the House-Governor, in the circumstances of the case, shall determine.

8. Any inmates guilty of drunkenness or other immorality, or of annoying their neighbours in the wards, or of attempting to introduce spirits or other improper articles, shall, for the first offence, be confined within the premises for not more than one month; for the second offence, not more than two months; and for the third and every subsequent offence, not more than three months.

9. Any inmates guilty of smoking tobacco in the House, without special permission from the House-Governor, shall, for the first offence, be confined within the premises for one week; for the second offence, not more than two weeks; and for the third and every subsequent offence, not more than three weeks.

10. Any inmates who shall be guilty of riotous conduct, or who, after being warned by the House-Governor or Matron, shall be refractory, and persist in annoying their neighbours in the wards, shall, at the discretion of the House-Governor, be committed to close confinement not exceeding the limited period before mentioned, in a solitary cell situated within the House, previously certified by the Medical-Officer to be a fit and proper place for the purpose.

11. No inmate shall give or receive any article through the gate, or shall hold communication with any person on the outside of the grounds. Transgressors of this regulation shall be punished according to the 8th Rule.

12. Inmates detected carrying out food, clothes, soap, or other articles belonging to the House, or selling or pawning their clothes, shall be proceeded against according to law.

13. Persons may be admitted to visit the inmates on week-days, from ten to one o'clock, by an order from a Member of the House-Committee, or from one of the Inspectors, the House-Governor, or Matron. In very special cases, an order may be given for admission at other hours.

14. A copy of the above Rules, and of those that follow relating to Nurses, shall be hung up in each Ward.

IX.—NURSES.

1. So many of the Female inmates as may be necessary, and as the Matron may consider competent, shall be appointed by her as Nurses, to whom shall be committed the immediate charge of the several Wards and Apartments. All inmates, so appointed, shall undertake this duty, and shall faithfully discharge the same, under penalty of dismissal from the House.

2. The Nurses shall be under the control and direction of the Matron, and shall not leave the House, even on liberty-days, without her permission. They shall obey such orders as may from time to time be given to them by her, or by the Medical Officer.

X.—DIET OF THE INMATES.

1. The ordinary diet of the Inmates shall be regulated according to a Table, to be framed by the Parochial Board from time to time, on the report of the House-Committee, and after consultation with the Medical Officer.

2. Besides the ordinary Diet-Table, another shall be framed in reference to those inmates who, from an infirm state of health, may be considered by the Medical Officer to stand in need of more nutritious diet.

3. The Medical Officer shall be at liberty to order cordials and extra diet for the use of inmates under medical treatment.

XI.—CLOTHING.

1. The Matron shall take charge of cutting out the clothing of the inmates, children at nurse, and other Out-Door Paupers, and shall deliver it to proper persons for making; and it shall be her duty to see that the several articles are properly made. In this department of her duty, the Matron shall have a female assistant.

2. A Tailor shall be appointed, who shall reside in the House, cut out the clothes for the males, and give an exact account to the Matron of all the cloth and other articles committed to his charge. He shall also superintend and direct the people employed in sewing the clothes, which work, as far as practicable, shall be executed by the inmates.

3. An account shall be kept by the Matron of all materials received from the House-Governor for clothing, bedding, &c., and how the same have been disposed of; also, of all materials delivered to the inmates for the purpose of being worked up, to shew that the same are duly accounted for; as well as an account of the work performed by each inmate, in order to regulate the premiums to be allowed for the same.

4. It shall be the duty of the House-Governor and Matron to take care that all the inmates are suitably clothed; and the Matron shall keep an account of the several articles delivered to the individual inmates.

5. The Matron shall not give any article of clothing to the Out-Door Poor without an order from the Inspectors, and all such orders shall be regularly filed by her.

6. All articles of dress furnished either to the Inmates, or to the Out-Door Poor, shall be marked "POOR-HOUSE, EDINBURGH," with the addition (except in the case of children boarded out) of the prefix "LENT FROM THE"

XII.—PREMIUMS.

1. Small weekly sums shall be allowed in name of Premiums for the encouragement of those inmates, whether male or female, who may render themselves particularly useful in making up articles of clothing, or who may be selected by the House-Governor or Matron to discharge duties involving care, labour, and responsibility, not falling to the ordinary Inmates of the House.

2. A scale of these Premiums shall from time to time be fixed by the House-Committee, and the same shall be paid by the House-Governor and Matron.

3. It being understood that these Premiums are generally to be employed by the parties receiving them in providing themselves with comforts not otherwise allowed, if any of these parties shall abuse them in any manner of way, the same shall be withdrawn, either wholly or for a time, as the House-Governor and Matron shall judge expedient.

4. In special cases, where it may be deemed advisable to allow Premiums in the shape of extra food, the House-Governor and Matron shall be at liberty to award the same.

XIII.—DECEASED INMATES.

1. Immediately on the death of any inmate, and after the body has been swathed, the same shall be put into a coffin, and forthwith removed to an apartment, to be allotted as a temporary dead-house.

2. The House-Governor shall, without delay, intimate the death of any inmate to his or her known relatives or friends, and take possession of, and examine, all effects left by the deceased.

3. As soon as circumstances shall admit, the bodies of deceased Inmates shall be removed from the dead-house to any Funerary that may be established by authority of the Parochial Board, in connection with the regulations regarding the burial of the deceased poor of the City.